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TWELFTH REPORT UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA 1963



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REPORT OF THE
SENATE FACTFINDING SUBCOMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
TO THE 1963 REGULAR CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
SACRAMENTO, 1963

AUG 25 1965

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE



TWELFTH REPORT OF THE SENATE FACTFINDING SUBCOMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

1963

MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

SENATOR JOHN F. THOMPSON,
Vice Chairman

SENATOR CHARLES BROWN
(Deceased)

SENATOR J. HOWARD WILLIAMS
(Deceased)

SENATOR AARON QUICK

SENATOR HUGH M. BURNS, *Chairman*
R. E. COMBS, *Counsel*

ELIZABETH NEILSEN, *Executive Secretary*

EVELIN ROGERS, *Secretary*

Published by the
SENATE
OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR GLENN M. ANDERSON
President of the Senate

HUGH M. BURNS
President pro Tempore

JOSEPH A. BEEK
Secretary

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FOREWORD

No inference of subversive affiliation or activity should be made solely because the name of a person, organization, or publication is mentioned in this report.

Previous reports are now out of print, but may be found in the reference rooms of public libraries in California.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL
SACRAMENTO, June 12, 1963

HONORABLE GLENN M. ANDERSON
PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND
GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE;

Senate Chamber, Sacramento, California

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: Pursuant to Senate Rules Resolution No. 1, adopted June 13, 1961, under authority of Paragraph 12.5 (13) of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities of the General Research Committee was created and the following Members of the Senate were appointed to said subcommittee by the Senate Committee on Rules: Senators Charles Brown,* Aaron W. Quick, John F. Thompson,† Stephen P. Teale, Hugh M. Burns, Chairman.

The committee herewith submits a report of its investigation and findings.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH M. BURNS, *Chairman*
AARON W. QUICK
STEPHEN P. TEALE

* Deceased.

† Term expired.

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REPORT OF THE SENATE FACTFINDING SUBCOMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

TO THE 1963 REGULAR CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

On March 22, 1961, Robert Welch sent a telegram to Governor Brown and a copy to Senator Hugh Burns, requesting an investigation of the John Birch Society by the California Senate Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, of which Senator Burns is chairman. On the following day this telegram was sent to Mr. Welch:

"Robert Welch, Founder, John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. This will acknowledge your telegram of March 22 in which you express a willingness to appear before our committee. We have been aware of your society's existence and have made some investigation of its activities. In the normal course of events, we would expect to continue this investigation at the conclusion of the current session of the Legislature. At that time you will be beyond the jurisdiction of a California legislative committee. However, if you are still willing to appear before our committee, we will arrange such a hearing. Please bear in mind that our committee policy has been to conduct our inquiries through staff investigation and in executive committee session in order to accomplish the greatest amount of good with the least amount of sensationalism. Our committee would appreciate it if you would keep us posted as to your whereabouts and activities until we have an opportunity to schedule a hearing. Hugh M. Burns, Chairman, Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities."

Senator Burns then issued the following press release:

"I have sent a wire to Robert Welch, the founder of the John Birch Society, acknowledging his willingness to appear before the committee.

"The committee will be glad to schedule a hearing after the adjournment of the legislative session at which time he will be invited to appear.

"I do not believe it would be in the public interest to embark on an extensive investigation of this organization while the Legislature is in session. It would have a disruptive effect on our legislative duties.

"We have been investigating the society and would continue to do so with or without the current outbreak of controversy. There have been allegations that the society is or could become subversive. Our investigation has not progressed to the stage where a conclusive judgment on this subject could be made.

"Certainly the mere fact that this is a right wing instead of a left wing organization does not clothe it with some sort of holiness which protects it from being dangerous to our country.

"Any movement, from the unbalanced right or the unbalanced left, which tears the country apart by rumor, slander, fear and doubt must necessarily be suspect. We will continue our investigation. It will be thorough. It will be done in a careful, dignified manner, at a time and place where calmness and deliberation can prevail."

Immediately after these telegrams and statements appeared in the press, the committee was deluged with a stream of letters that has continued until the present time. Virtually all of the writers insisted that we hold public hearings. Critics of the society demanded that we expose it as a fascist movement; members of the society were equally insistent that we unmask its critics as Communists or Communist dupes. So vehement and persistent were these demands, so steady was the volume of letters, that the committee was moved to state once again the scope of its authority and the nature of its operation. On April 8, 1961, the Fresno *Bee* carried this statement by Senator Burns:

"... we are not a headline hunting committee. We are not oriented to sensationalism. We are a study and factfinding committee. We get information from documents, personal interviews, closed hearings and other investigative procedures.

"The facts then developed are analyzed and reports submitted to the Legislature. Times, places, dates and names are printed where it is deemed necessary to document conclusions.

"As to the John Birch Society, some thought should be given to the function of our committee in relation to the society. Our committee is a factfinding committee on un-American activities. Our sole interest in the John Birch Society must go to the question of whether the society is un-American.

"We are not interested in investigating the John Birch Society to find out what its views are on Communism. We are only interested in finding out whether the John Birch Society is un-American."

We have pursued our investigation with these limits in mind, having started our file on the society shortly after it commenced to operate in this state. Our study is based on a wide range of newspaper descriptions of the John Birch Society, from the restrained treatment by Gene Blake in the *Los Angeles Times* to the somewhat more critical articles in the *Santa Barbara News-Press*; a variety of booklets and pamphlets ranging from sympathetic analyses from the political right and furious attacks from the Communist Party itself; we have sent investigators out in the field to interview both detractors and supporters of the society; we have secured affidavits and signed statements from 91 people, and we have reports from agents who attended chapter meetings of the society. From official sources we have obtained and studied the literature of the organization, the *Blue Book*, *American Opinion*, the monthly bulletins and recommended books. We have read the report issued by Attorney General Mosk, and the charges made by Governor Brown.

In April 1961 Welch disclosed that he had requested the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security to conduct an investigation of the society, since it was a nationwide organization and should appropriately be scrutinized by Congress. Our own investigation, while necessarily involving the national origin and development of the movement, will be otherwise limited to its operations in California.

Origin and Growth

While many accounts of the creation of the John Birch Society have appeared in newspapers, magazines and in the personal observations of the state Attorney General, we set it forth briefly here.

Robert H. W. Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, was born in Chowan County, North Carolina, 63 years ago. He received a degree from the University of North Carolina, attended Annapolis Naval Academy for two years and studied law at Harvard. He then became interested in the candy manufacturing business and eventually organized the firm that bore his name and made him financially independent.

Welch established residence at Belmont, Massachusetts, served as a vice-chairman of the Republican Party Finance Committee in that state and was a candidate for its lieutenant governor in 1950. Not all of the organizations with which Welch has been affiliated were conservative, as the books and records of the League for Industrial Democracy, founded by Fabian Socialists in England, and in this country by Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Clarence Darrow and other militant liberals, still show that Mr. Robert Welch of Belmont, Massachusetts, is a member in good standing. The League for Industrial Democracy was aggressively socialist, and for several years was led by the late Robert Morss Lovett.

As a result of his reading and his travels, Welch became convinced that the nation faced imminent peril from Communist subversion at home. Accordingly he asked some of his business acquaintances to come and discuss the problem. They assembled from several states and listened while, on December 8 and 9, 1958, Welch expressed his views. This was the inception of the John Birch Society, and the statements Welch made on that occasion were incorporated into the society's

Blue Book, its basic document. In this 179-page book is set forth the principles, purposes, organizational structure and activities of the society. In addition monthly bulletins are issued from the national headquarters at Belmont 78, Massachusetts, and distributed to members through their individual chapters. *American Opinion* is a magazine also published by Welch as part of the society's literature.

By the end of 1959 there were chapters of the society in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Virginia, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Florida, Michigan, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Texas, Washington and California. In 1961 the only states remaining unorganized were Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah and Vermont. And as 1961 shortened some of these states were rapidly being organized.

Origin of the Name

The name of the society was taken in honor of the late Captain John Birch of Georgia, who was serving as an American intelligence officer in China and was killed by Chinese Communists 10 days after the end of World War II. Welch researched the case, and wrote about Birch in *American Opinion* magazine. This account depicts Birch as an American martyr, but as the John Birch Society has been beset with controversy every step of its way, so has there been controversy even about the account of the man whose name it bears.

Welch believed the name appropriate because John Birch was undoubtedly the first American to be killed by Communists during the cold war. Having been a Baptist missionary in China, familiar with several Chinese language dialects, Birch later joined the Fourteenth Air Force and at the time of his death on a railroad near Hsueh in 1945 was an agent in the Office of Strategic Services. He aided prisoners of the Chinese Communists to escape from the country, and as he stood for the principles of Christianity, was an implacable enemy of Communism, and was in the uniform of his country's armed forces at the time he was murdered, he epitomized the things for which the John Birch Society also stands.

In 1954 Welch wrote a book, "The Life of John Birch," that has been widely distributed, and which may be found on the shelves of bookstores carrying anti-Communist literature. Of course it is also available at all outlets that supply the various chapters of the society. Birch was only 27 when he died. Most of his associates describe him as a highly dedicated, resolute and devout man; courageous and outspoken. Some, however, have asserted that he was brash and outspoken, and that had he not attempted to brazen his way out of the tense situation near the village of Hsueh he might not have lost his life. Some of his party did return to their base.

Joseph S. Sample, Billings, Montana, was a member of the intelligence unit to which Birch was assigned and has stated that:

"Captain Birch chose to bluff his way out of a difficult situation.

Harsh words led to insults, and insults to arrogance. Finally, in a fit of rage, the Chinese Communist leader shot Birch. The remainder of the team was released and returned to Kuming."

Sample is president of KOOK Radio and TV at Billings.

The Politician

In 1954 Welch wrote a 268-page letter for distribution to his intimate friends. The contents were to be kept confidential, and the reason for this restriction on its dissemination became immediately obvious when his views were made generally known. On page 267 of the letter Milton Eisenhower, the former President's brother, is described as a Communist of 30 years' standing. This would have placed Dr. Eisenhower in the Communist Party as far back as 1924—seven years after the Russian Revolution, just after the civil war in that country, and only five years after the formation of the Communist Party of the United States. Those familiar with the history of Communism in this country will know that the first national convention wasn't held until 1922 at Bridgeman, Michigan; that there were actually two Communist Parties operating simultaneously, and there was no effective organization *until* 1924.

Government agents raided the Bridgeman convention and secured membership lists despite elaborate party precautions to prevent such a calamity. The Comintern representatives ordered the organization underground, and it has operated with an above-ground and an underground apparatus ever since.

In the light of this perspective, two facts emerge: first, that despite serious reading and analysis of the Communist movement in the United States, Mr. Welch apparently failed to take this historical background into account when he wrote *The Politician*, and, secondly, in view of that background, the possibility of Dr. Eisenhower's having been a member of this ephemeral movement in 1924 is far too remote to warrant serious consideration. One may disagree with Dr. Eisenhower's political, economic and sociological beliefs, and one may even be convinced that his actions have been detrimental to the welfare of this nation and of some aid to the world Communist effort to subvert us—but there has been too much loose accusation that people or organizations with which we disagree are Communist or Communist-dominated. The accusation in the letter becomes even more tenuous when Welch added "... this opinion is based largely on an accumulation of detailed evidence and so palpable that it seems to put this consideration beyond any reasonable doubt."

The Politician also contained other charges. Former President Eisenhower was described as "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." And amplifying the statement, Welch added, on page 268, "... there is only one possible word to describe his purpose and actions. That word is 'treason.'" He even gave the relative authority of the two brothers, saying: "In my opinion the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party. For one thing, he is obviously a great deal smarter."

Others named by Welch in *The Politician* as aiding the Communist conspiracy—consciously or otherwise—were former Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, Chief Justice Earl Warren, John Foster Dulles, and his brother Allen.

As time passed Welch added to this sensational document, and by late 1958, when the John Birch Society was formed, it had grown from 6,000

words to 80,000. It was reproduced by offset and distributed to some of the top members of the John Birch Society, but Welch has been recently quoted as stating that he is trying to withdraw each copy and get it out of circulation as quickly as possible.

It is difficult indeed to reconcile the accusations made in *The Politician* by Mr. Welch with the records of John Foster Dulles and his brother Allan in their fight against the world Communist movement. Bearing in mind that the controversial letter was first circulated by Welch in 1954 and was thereafter expanded and circulated in 1958, one wonders whether he had read the strong anti-Communist public statements by the late Secretary of State, and his brother who recently retired as head of our Central Intelligence Agency. Here are some typical public utterances by both men. John Foster Dulles:

"These challenges of a changing world are the more demanding of us because international communism seeks to dominate the change and thereby ride itself to world rule.

"It professes a creed which, it claims, shows the way to assured peace and great productivity. According to it, human beings are animated particles of matter; order and maximum productivity require that they be directed in accordance with a master plan which will assure conformity of thought and act, and eliminate the discords inherent in a society which gives freedom of thought and choice to the individual human being. The Soviet Communist Party, as the 'general staff of the world proletariat,' would devise and administer the worldwide master plan . . . Thus, the challenge of change that confronts us offers, not a choice between freedom and stagnation, or even between freedom and chaos. The choice is between freedom and a world in which great power, strong discipline, and a materialistic creed are combined to end everywhere the exercise of human freedom." (*State Department Bulletin*, June 23, 1958, p. 1036.)

And speaking of "Progress and Human Dignity" in the same publication for December 1, 1958, our then Secretary of State said of the world Communist movement:

"All of this effort is directed by rulers who seek, through the creation of a vast slave state, to enhance the power of what Mr. Khrushchev calls the international Communist movement. It is hard to believe that this effort will succeed or be enduring. Despotisms have always failed in the past. Any despotism founded upon the denial of human values and upon exaltation of materialism has within it the seeds of its own destruction." (Page 866)

On April 8, 1959, Allen Dulles, speaking as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, made a speech in New Orleans which was published in the *State Department Bulletin* of April 27, at page 583. He said:

"International communism has not changed its operating procedure since the days of the Comintern and the Cominform. The Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., of which Khrushchev is the leader, is the spearhead of the movement. It has a worldwide mis-

sion, formulated by Lenin and Stalin and now promoted by Khrushchev, but with more subtle techniques than those of Stalin. This mission continues to be the subversion of the entire free world, starting of course with those countries that are most vulnerable.

"Its arsenal of attack is based, first of all, on the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Communist China. These in turn direct the hard-core Communist organizations which exist in practically every country in the world. Every Communist Party maintains its secret connections with Moscow or, in the case of certain Communist Parties of the Far East, with Peiping.

"In conclusion I wish to emphasize again the pressing need for a clearer understanding of the real purpose behind the Sino-Soviet program. There is no evidence that the present leaders of the Communist world have the slightest idea of abandoning their goal or of changing the general tactics of achieving them.

"Those who feel we can buy peace by compromises with Khrushchev are sadly deluded. Each concession we give him merely strengthens his position and prestige and the ability of the Soviet regime to continue its domination of the Russian people whose friendship we seek.

"Our defense lies not in compromise but in understanding and firmness, in a strong and ready deterrent military power, in the marshaling of our economic assets with those of the other free countries of the world to meet their methods of economic penetration, and finally in the unmasking of their subversive techniques."

We have quoted these public statements to demonstrate that at the very time *The Politician* was being circulated, these men were making the most emphatic and clear attacks against the world Communist movement, and were backing up their public utterances with courageous action. As for former Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower, their records are too well known to require such quotations. During the Roosevelt administration, and to a lesser degree during the administration of Truman, there most assuredly was an infiltration by Communist agents in many strategic government positions. But we are prone to forget that when President Roosevelt criticized the Soviet Union, he was loudly booed by the brash young people of the Youth Congress assembled on the White House lawn; that Truman *did* take positive action to shore up our security program against internal subversion, as did President Eisenhower. They each recognized the patent fact that we did indeed have a problem of domestic subversion, and that we would continue to have it just so long as a Communist organization existed in the United States.

President Truman appointed a commission to study the problem in 1946, and issued Executive Order 9835 in March of the following year which established a loyalty-security program for the entire executive branch of the government. On April 27, 1953, President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10450, extending the program and considerably widening its scope. These basic orders were implemented from time to time, and while the three Presidents mentioned by Welch in *The Poli-*

tician have been criticized for having been too gentle in their treatment of internal subversion, too tolerant of Communists in this country, we must also recall that the Smith Act prosecutions and a line of Supreme Court cases that were handed down by our highest tribunal until 1956, all combined to harass and smother Communist activities most effectively.

We are dealing at length with the allegations contained in *The Politician* because it set off the criticism of the John Birch Society when its contents became known, because most of the top officials in the John Birch Society attribute the attacks against it to the contents of *The Politician* and because it serves to highlight the character of Robert Welch as the founder and present leader of the movement. Furthermore, it will be necessary to refer to the document hereafter, in distinguishing between the critics of the statements contained in it and efforts to attribute the sentiments of its author to all members of the society.

The Pasternak Plot

Before we leave the writings of Robert Welch as an expert in the anti-Communist field, it is necessary to examine another of his publications. For several years Mr. Welch was the publisher and editor of a magazine called *American Opinion*. It is issued from Belmont, Massachusetts, and widely distributed—not only to members of the John Birch Society and at bookstores, but to the public at large through annual subscription. An issue of this publication in 1959 contained an explanation that the publication and worldwide sale of the novel *Dr. Zhivago*, by the late Russian author Boris Pasternak, was in reality a plot hatched by the Soviet Secret Police. Despite the fact that the author was roundly berated in official Soviet papers, was forbidden to accept the Nobel Peace Prize, and was hounded until he died, Mr. Welch contended that actually the Soviet Union *wanted* the book widely read, and therefore spun this elaborate scheme to only make people *believe* it was opposed to the novel and to only *pretend* it was rebuking Pasternak for having written such an anti-Soviet book.

We are not competent, of course, to make any judgment of the accuracy of this startling contention without at least taking a passing look at what the book contained. Some very brief excerpts will suffice.

On page 223 *Dr. Zhivago* says:

“When the revolution woke him up, he decided that his century-old dream was coming true—his dream of living on his own land by the work of his hands, in complete independence and with no obligations to anyone. Instead, he found he had only exchanged the oppression of the former state for the new, much harsher yoke of the revolutionary superstate.”

On page 259, *Zhivago* says:

“... I don't know a movement more self-centered and further removed from the facts than Marxism. Everyone is worried only about proving himself in practical matters, and as for the men in power, they are so anxious to establish the myth of their infallibility that they do their utmost to ignore the truth.”

And on page 507 one soldier says to another :

"I think that collectivization was an erroneous and unsuccessful measure and it was impossible to admit the error. To conceal the failure people had to be cured, by every means of terrorism, of the habit of judging and thinking for themselves, and forced to see what didn't exist, to assert the very opposite of what their eyes told them. This accounts for the unexampled cruelty of the Yezhov head of the secret police period, the promulgation of a constitution that was never meant to be applied, and the introduction of elections that violated every principle of free choice."

Moreover, the entire tenor of this book, written by a sensitive author whose forte was poetry, contrasted the warm, spiritual attributes of man against the drab materialism of the Soviet regime. We cannot conceive of a plot to promote the circulation of this novel by the Soviet secret police—and besides, there was no vestige of evidence to support Mr. Welch's theory. But there is substantial evidence, aside from the nature of the book itself, in the opposite direction.

We have described in our reports that when Khrushchev delivered his "secret" speech in Moscow in February 1956, his attack on the dead Stalin provoked a deep split in the American Communist Party. The chairman of the southern division of the party in California, together with a large following, was accused of "revisionism." Many left the party in disgust, others drifted into inactivity and gradually isolated themselves from all party affairs. Howard Fast resigned; so did John Gates. Fast had been the literary leader of American party, while Gates was editor of the *Daily Worker* in New York. Each of them wrote a book. Fast wrote *The Naked God*, and Gates wrote *The Life of an American Communist*. Another Russian novelist, Vladimir Dudintsev, had also written an anti-Soviet book called *Not By Bread Alone*, and so had Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav, whose book was called *The New Class*. All of these books were highly critical of the Soviet regime and of Marxism in general. All were, for a brief time, sold at the Communist bookstore in Los Angeles. And on the same table with them was *Dr. Zhivago*.

There was no such heretical schism in the Northern California division of the party. There were defections, and there were revisionists, but there was nothing like the defiant upheaval in the Communist ranks of Southern California. Obviously, if there had been a Soviet secret police plot to blanket the capitalist countries with the Pasternak book, it would have appeared on the shelves of the outlet in Northern California where the discipline was sterner, and where such defiant anti-party works as those by Howard Fast and John Gates were not displayed.

The Pasternak novel places man above the state, and praises the value of human dignity and spiritual attributes. Its total effect is at utter variance with the materialist theory of history and the very essence of the Soviet system. And here again it is necessary to consider the matter in proper perspective. When this book was published Khrushchev had made his slashing attack on the dead Stalin, and had promised that the old restrictions would be relaxed. This, of course, was because the masses were restive; the intelligentsia had become more

critical of the rule by terror, and with the change of control after Stalin's long tenure it was practically impossible to continue his repressive policies. In addition there were revolts in the satellites, and after criticism was permitted it was difficult to clamp down the censorship again. It was indeed applied later, but after *Dr. Zhivago* was being sold throughout the world. Pasternak was, however, stopped from accepting the Nobel Prize, and even after his death his secretary was hounded unmercifully by the Soviet authorities.

Eugene Lyons is one of the most perceptive analysts of the Soviet scene. He was one of the first American newsmen to be stationed in the U.S.S.R., and remained in that country for several years. His books, *Assignment to Utopia*, *Moscow Carousel*, and *The Red Decade*, are still widely read. In an article which appeared in *National Review* on April 11, 1959, he had this to say about the Welch idea of the secret police plot to circulate Pasternak's book:

"Thus the fantasy that the huge success of Doctor Zhivago 'would be utterly impossible if the Kremlin . . . didn't actually want the book to sell' is only the latest in a long array of myths. It reflects the state of mind that attributes to the Communist movement supernatural cunning, unbounded powers of efficient planning, and a diabolism beyond human ability to cope with.

"This is anti-Communism carried to an extreme of sophistication that is self defeating—the kind that sees a 'plant' in every prominent defector from communism, an 'agent' in every escapee from the Communist realm, a crypto-Communist in every opponent of communism who fails to express his opposition in the ritual style of the sect."

And Mr. Lyons concludes his article by saying:

"Only someone bereft of his senses could conceivably be converted to Marxism by *Doctor Zhivago*. Its total effect is a devastating revulsion against communism in practice.

"As a brake on their zeal, the folklorists should understand that the Kremlin's paramount concern is the maintenance of power. In matters affecting its rock-bottom security, its monolithic structure, its defense against actual and potential domestic threats, it never takes undue chances. Clever lying to disorient the enemy stops where the safety of the regime begins. On things like Trotskyism, the Titoist heresy, revisionism, rebellions in its empire, or a book like *Doctor Zhivago*, it cannot risk speculative propaganda tricks.

"The Communist skill in trickery hardly justifies any of us in tricking ourselves. The trouble in such exercises in self-delusion is that, by reducing valid distrust of communist behavior *ad absurdum*, they undermine the effectiveness of exposures of genuine Communist duplicities."

We should also note that Mr. Welch's ideas about the Pasternak book were applied to the work by Djilas, heretofore mentioned, and his conclusions printed in the *Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, eighth printing, pp. 100-101:

"Already, through their stooges like Milovan Djilas, who is *supposed* to be in disgrace in Yugoslavia, and Boris Pasternak, who is

supposed to be suffering bitter enmity of the dictators in Russia, but whose books have thus been publicized—and, please note, helped by the left wing—to become best sellers in America; already through such books, which gullible Americans are more and more accepting, or finding less unbelievable, the thesis of these books that communism itself is all right—in fact it's a glorious system—and that all that's wrong with it is the character of the people now running the system."

Lyons also mentioned the Djilas book in the article from which we quoted above. He said:

"Milovan Djilas, in *The New Class*, described himself as still a socialist and Marxist. Consequently there were those who raised questions as to the long-run value of the book. To me the doubts seemed unreasonable: Djilas' scathing critique of socialism in practice was so persuasive that it reduced to illogic his restive and nostalgic avowals of faith in theoretical Marxism. But among the questioners were some who saw the book as a hoax, perpetrated by Communists to promote the socialist idea in general even at the price of deadly derogation of the systems actually on display in Russia and the author's own country." (*National Review*, April 11, 1959, p. 645.)

The statements made by Mr. Welch in *The Politician*, his views about the Pasternak and Djilas books, and his expressed ability to detect Communists by "feel," have combined to provide the press with ammunition which has been fired back at Welch and the John Birch Society in salvos and broadsides. In the *Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, for example, he stated:

"Now there are ways of sizing up both individuals and organizations in this battle, which come only with experience, a knowledge of the interlocking pieces and personalities, and a feel for the way the Communists work . . . I have a fairly sensitive and accurate nose in this area." (*Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, eighth printing, 1961, pp. 160-161.)

He also stated that in checking his feelings about subversive persons and groups with the records of experts, he found that he was frequently right. But, of course, Mr. Welch can make mistakes, too, as he freely admits; and the quickest way to get thoroughly discredited in the anti-subversive field is to sniff too many times in the wrong direction, and to form judgments on anything but the most reliable evidence. Intuition is not only unreliable in this field, but often diverts attention from the real target that has been too-well deodorized to be exposed by a sniff.

Guilt by Association

When the Communist front organizations were especially active during the late thirties and early forties, the party issued some intensive propaganda against the principle of what it termed guilt by association. The purpose of this device was apparent to students of the Communist

movement, but many were convinced that somehow it had become wrong to judge a man by the company he kept and the organizations to which he belonged. Particularly if they were Communist friends and fronts. If he became involved innocently with a front, then became interested in Marxism, then joined another and another such group on a scale of increasing activity and enthusiasm—this was to be ignored as evidence that he was flirting with Communism. This sort of propaganda was accompanied by the planting of an idea that any American citizen was free to join any organization he liked, and to associate with anyone—including Communist fronts and Communist Party members. Anyone who presumed to raise a loyalty question about such matters was frowned upon as interfering with civil rights, and the Communists tried to create an atmosphere wherein no significance was to be attached to these records of subversive affiliation, insisting that the criticism should be directed against those who dared to question these actions.

Guilt by association is as old as civilization itself, in the sense that it is only natural that a man should be judged to some degree by the company he elects to keep and the organizations with which he elects to associate. It may be perfectly lawful for a man to join a Communist front organization—or a dozen or more, for that matter. But it is equally lawful and logical for him to be appraised accordingly.

The fact that members of the John Birch Society were associated together in a tightly knit movement led by Welch has prompted many newspapers and magazines to assume that the members held the same views that Welch expressed in *The Politician* and *American Opinion*. Spokesmen for the society, and Welch himself, have repeatedly declared that *The Politician* was written and sent to friends before the society was ever conceived; that it was strictly private correspondence between individuals and marked confidential. It was, however, obtained by the press and given sensational publicity without the consent of the author. Rank and file members of the society point out that Welch's private ideas are his own, and that his views regarding the loyalty of our highest public officials are shared by few of the members. And the same thing goes, they say, for his ideas about smelling out Communists, and the alleged Soviet scheme to disseminate the Pasternak and Djilas books.

Early members of the society never heard of *The Politician*, which was written four years before it was formed. Some of the people to whom copies of this confidential document had been mailed later became members of the society, and a few of them assumed positions of some responsibility, but even some of these have violently disagreed with Welch's accusations in 1954, and members of the John Birch Society were outraged when they read that they were a bunch of crackpots because these views of Welch had been imputed to them.

Since Robert Welch is the founder and acknowledged leader of the society, it is pertinent to know about his personal sentiments, however; and we must then proceed to ascertain to what extent these views are shared by his followers. In an attempt to determine this, we have taken statements from more than a hundred present members of the society, and from our own investigators who have attended meetings. The inescapable conclusion is that few members agree with Welch that the national figures mentioned in *The Politician* were sub-

versive—consciously or otherwise—or that the Kremlin concocted the finely spun plots to circulate the books by Pasternak and Djilas. On the contrary, there is much evidence to the effect that many of the society's national council members have vainly asked Welch to repudiate the views he expressed in this sensational letter of 1954, and that most of the Birchers regard Welch's early accusations as indefensible and ridiculous.

We did not consider it possible to render an accurate report concerning the purposes, organizational structure and activities of a movement such as this without sending representatives to attend meetings in various localities throughout the State; and as the meetings are openly held, this posed no great difficulty. In some places attendance was restricted to known members of the society and persons sponsored by them. In other areas it was quite easy for anyone to attend who manifested an interest and appeared sincere. We shall consider the actual conduct of meetings later. First we shall quote from some of the statements of members concerning the views of Mr. Welch set forth above.

"... I must admit Robert Welch in a few of his controversial comments did not use the prudence and judgment a man in his position should have exercised. However, as I understand it, his unfortunate comment about Mr. Eisenhower with which I, and I'm sure 99 percent of our membership disagree, was not a public utterance and represented a violation of confidence that never should have seen the light of day. Unfortunately, it provided a timely weapon for an exploitation, magnified beyond all justification—in view of the actual facts and true philosophy and purpose of the society." (Statement by Henri de La Chapelle.)

"Several years ago I became a member of the John Birch Society . . . because I saw in it the first opinion group to come to my attention which possessed the potentialities for organizing the scattered voices of conservatism into an effective influence on the political environment of our country. In the ensuing years I have not always agreed with some details of its program; neither Mr. Welch nor the members of the council of the society expect the membership to. But since joining the society I have seen nothing to change my original opinion regarding its potentialities nor to cause me to believe that it stands for anything other than the achievement of constitutional objectives by legal, constitutional means." (Statement by Robert Blake, Major General, U.S. Marine Corps, retired.)

"If the numerous charges hurled against this fine society by press, radio, television, etc., approached the nearness of truth, I can assure you I would have ceased my membership by now. Without laboring the point, the most glaring example which comes to mind is that the John Birch Society believes that Dwight D. Eisenhower is a conscious agent of the Communist Party. Fine, if Robert Welch wrote this in a private letter or document, but to embrace the entire society by this one phrase—written by Mr. Welch with no anticipation of it being published is, to me, absurd." (Statement by Thomas F. O'Loughlan.)

"To sum up my reaction to the nationwide smear campaign to discredit the J.B.S., I might touch on the one point that seems to be the greatest stumbling block to most peoples' acceptance of the society. Robert Welch's statement that General Eisenhower was a pseudo Communist or a Communist dupe appears to be the heaviest burden the society has had to bear, even though the letter it was quoted from has never been a part of the society.

"Irregardless of the truth of the accusation, the worst that Robert Welch can be accused of is indulging in a little private name calling. Mud slinging, if you prefer. Many of the columnists and politicians who screamed loudest about Mr. Welch's charge indulge in this old American custom to a degree frightening to any not accustomed to its daily application. 'Let he who is without guilt cast the first stone.' " (Statement by Charles A. Lovers.

Coupled with these early views of Welch were the authoritarian character of the society, its employment of front organizations, and allegations of its semi-secret nature—all of which were combined to provoke charges of fascism, irresponsible redbaiting and right-wing lunacy against the membership. We will undertake to examine the accuracy of these charges, together with the replies of the society, and our own estimate of the nature of the movement.

In arriving at our conclusions we have examined the reports of our own representatives, who were instructed to contact members of the society, to attend meetings, to take statements from the most determined critics of the organization, and from officers and representative members of the society. From this mass of material, mostly written much reduced to affidavit form, we have arrived at what we believe to be the truth. There has been an astounding amount of heat generated over the John Birch Society. And just as Welch, in *The Politician* and in *American Opinion* has made some highly sensational and unsupportable charges, so have the critics of the movement been full as sensational in hurling irresponsible accusations against the society.

Some of the most vocal critics against guilt by association were quick to attribute Welch's utterances, four years before the organization was formed, to all of the people who have joined it to date. The evidence before us indicates that this charge is ridiculous. We have found that a few members of the John Birch Society do, indeed, fully agree with Welch's statements in *The Politician*. They also subscribe to his ideas about the plots behind the Pasternak and Djilas books. It is also true that this minority make a noise out of all proportion to their numerical strength. This type of member is quick to suspect every ex-Communist of being a spy for the party, to sense a complex plot behind every simple Communist maneuver, and to tag as subversive propaganda every picture taken in the USSR.

But we also find this type in the ultra-liberal groups. In organizations of the left we find a minority who would protect the civil liberties of Soviet agents operating in this country to subvert us; who believe we should immediately disarm and scrap our atomic weapons, no matter what the Russians do; that we should liquidate all overseas military bases, bring home all the troops, get out of NATO, recognize R

China, and trust our destiny to the United Nations. This sort of person regards anyone whose political philosophy is to the right of Norman Thomas as a fascist. They are a tiny minority, but they are most articulate. If two or three such extremists gain control of an organization, whether it is oriented toward right or left, they tend to attract others of similar character.

As we shall point out, this tendency has afflicted the John Birch Society in this state to some degree, as it has also afflicted organizations of the left. Before leaving the attitude of the overwhelming majority of members toward the earlier Welch statements, however, the reaction of W. R. Fawcett pertinently sums up the matter. Fawcett declared:

"I knew . . . that Welch was a crusader and a zealot. But I am not going to damn the John Birch Society because Welch went off the deep end in his pamphlet, which was distributed in strict confidence to a handful of men several years ago." (Los Angeles *Times*, March 31, 1961.)

Organizational Structure

When Welch called 11 of his friends together at Indianapolis in December 1958, the lectures he delivered to them on that occasion were incorporated into what is not known as *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*. It contains the reasons for the formation of the organization, its purposes, operational technique, and general structure. It has been referred to by virtually all who have written about the organization, runs to about 178 pages in the eighth edition, and excerpts have often been quoted out of context to suit the purposes of several writers. We consider the following excerpts to be indispensable to our purposes, and trust that we have taken adequate precaution not to quote them out of the general context of the book.

"The John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body. A republican form of government or of organization has many attractions and advantages, under certain favorable conditions. But under less happy circumstances it lends itself readily to infiltration, distortion and disruption. And democracy, of course, in government or organization, as the Greeks and Romans both found out, and as I believe every man in this room clearly recognizes—democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud. ". . . The John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels. The fear of tyrannical oppression of individuals, and other arguments against the authoritative structure in the form of governments, have little bearing on the case of a voluntary association, where the authoritative power can be exercised and enforced only by persuasion. And what little validity they do have is outweighed by the advantages of firm and positive direction of the society's energies. Especially for the near future, and for the fight against communism which is the first great task of the society, it is imperative that all the strength we can muster be subject to smoothly functioning direction from the top. As I have said before, no collection of debating societies is ever going to stop the Communist conspiracy from taking us over,

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and I have no intention of adding another frustrated group to their number. We mean business every step of the way." (*Blue Book*, 8th ed., pp. 158-159.)

* * * * *

"Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out before they build up any splintering following of their own inside the society . . . We can allow for differences of opinion. We shall need and welcome advice. And we expect to use the normal measure of diplomacy always called for in dealing with human beings. But whenever differences of opinion become translated into a lack of loyal support, we shall have shortcuts for eliminating both without going through any congress of so-called democratic processes. Otherwise, Communist infiltrators could bog up down in interminable disagreements, schisms, and feuds before we ever became seriously effective." (*Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.)

"The John Birch Society will function almost entirely through small, local chapters, usually of from 10 to 20 dedicated patriots, although some chapters may occasionally, and for a while, be larger. Each will have a chapter leader, appointed by headquarters, which is in Belmont, Massachusetts."

"For handling the organizational mechanics of the society, and for helping to form new chapters, we shall have a paid staff man, with the title of co-ordinator, for each area of the proper size. Above these co-ordinators, in time, we shall have supervisors with the rank or title of major co-ordinators; and we shall further build the organizational framework from the bottom up, as made necessary by sufficient membership, in order to keep strict and careful control on what every chapter is doing, and even every member of every chapter so far as the effective work of the John Birch Society is concerned." (*Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.)

At the time the eighth edition of the *Blue Book* (which is the most recent) was published in 1961, there were 28 people on the headquarters staff at Belmont, 30 paid co-ordinators or supervisors, and about 100 section leaders or minor co-ordinators. During the past two years there have been slightly more than 100 resignations. Two members were expelled—one for anti-semitism, and a few all-negro chapters have been formed. There are also several local chapters consisting of both colored and white members.

The first chapters were founded in February 1959. Thereafter the movement spread rapidly until now there are members throughout the nation, and many members-at-large whose affiliation is recorded only at the headquarters chapter in Massachusetts.

From the inception of the society, Welch was firmly convinced that tough methods would have to be used to combat the menace of communism. He believed that every means would be taken to discredit the organization and to wreck it from within. The statements set forth in the *Blue Book* drive this conception home again and again. Precautions were taken to guard against infiltration, and against the formation of dissident sects. Anyone familiar with the organization and techniques

of the Communist Party must immediately note the close similarity between these two implacable enemies. Each has a monolithic structure in which the authority gravitates from the top down through the various echelons to the rank and file membership. Each employs front organizations which it controls from behind the scenes and through which it works. Each operates bookstores and reading rooms through which it spreads its ideology. Each has a staff of full-time employees. The Communists call them organizers; the Birchers call them co-ordinators. Each movement operates through small units scattered throughout the country. The Communists call them clubs, and Birchers call them chapters. Each publishes a monthly list of directives that establishes the current line of activity. The communists call theirs *Political Affairs*, and the Birchers call theirs the *John Birch Society Bulletin*. Each is geared to unleash a barrage of invective and attack against the other, and to bring to bear every pressure and device available.

There is, of course, this distinction: the Communist Party is directed from abroad, despite its vehement protests to the contrary. It has always been a part of the world Communist drive to dominate every non-Communist country, and it has pursued this objective consistently. It has never managed to insinuate its regime through the process of the ballot box, but always through stealth, subversion or raw force. When captive peoples seek to cast off the Soviet yoke, they are crushed by armed might. This global operation works through the Communist Parties that exist—legally or illegally—in 81 countries. Their propaganda apparatus is synchronized, and their activities are always co-ordinated.

The John Birch Society, convinced that the threat to the continued existence of our way of life is in mortal danger from the advance of communism, both at home and abroad, is dedicated to prevent it. It has no international ramifications, but it has not overlooked that possibility, as the *Blue Book* declares:

“We have already been under considerable pressure to start chapters of the society in several foreign countries. We have authorized some people in some of those countries to use our material simply as a guide, in setting up some similar but entirely separate local organizations. And we might, at some future date, absorb such organizations, if satisfactory in every way, right into the John Birch Society. But so far the sparing of time, energy, or resources, for international organizing efforts or even for a minimum of supervision of such efforts by others, has been out of the question.”
(*Blue Book*, footnote 18 to 4th printing, February 1961, p. xi.)

The society is completely frank in stating that it has adopted many Communist techniques as its own. It operates to some extent through front organizations, as we have explained, it circulates petitions, it unleashes massive letter writing campaigns, and is currently seeking to bring about the impeachment of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. It supports conservative legislators and elective officers and it attacks all it believes are furthering the cause of communism—consciously or otherwise.

The society solidly supports such publications as *American Opinion*, *National Review*, *Human Events*, and a select list of anti-Communist

books; it supports such radio commentators as Fulton Lewis, Jr., Dan Smoot, and Clarence Manion. It urges patronage of such anti-Communist literary outlets as *The Bookmailer*, and such publishers of that type of book as Frederick A. Praeger and Henry Regnery.

While the organizational structure is similar to that used by the Communist Party, and some tried techniques of the Communists have been borrowed by the society, there is a vast difference in the matter of disciplinary control. Communists are trained to obey a directive or a party assignment, whether they agree with it or not. Members of the society are constantly told *not* to follow any program or directive unless they agree with it, as may be seen in many of the monthly bulletins sent to the members. When the policies and actions of the society are no longer supported by a member, he may resign and get a proportional rebate of his annual dues.

Robert Welch is the undisputed authority in this movement, and from his decisions there can be no appeal. Operating under him is an executive committee and a national council, but these are purely advisory bodies. If Welch makes a decision and both the executive committee and council unanimously, vehemently and implacably disagree, there is no question about who will prevail: Welch. Indeed, since he appoints the members of these bodies, he can fire them individually or collectively at will.

On the local level, there are major co-ordinators, whose jurisdiction usually encompasses an entire state. The major co-ordinator for California at the present time is Mr. G. Edward Griffin. Operating under him are section leaders, co-ordinators, and chapter leaders. A co-ordinator has jurisdiction over several local chapters of the society, and the section leader supervises an arbitrarily defined area comprising a large number of chapters.

The major co-ordinator in California has purely administrative duties, his two main objectives being the continued growth of the organization and the supervision of the existing chapters to insure a tightly knit and smoothly running movement at the local level. This, according to Mr. Griffin, "includes the responsibility to prevent both Communists and crackpots from coming into and dominating our local units. In order to adequately discharge these responsibilities, I must largely rely on the co-ordinators who work under me and who are in closer contact with the local situation." (Affidavit of G. Edward Griffin.)

The affidavit submitted by Mr. Harry Browne, co-ordinator for Los Angeles, described his duties and responsibilities with local chapters. He stated:

"In our efforts to recruit new members, we are, of course, selective—just as any reputable organization would be. In our case, we look for men and women of humane conscience, good will, and religious ideals, who also agree with the philosophy embodied in our stated purposes: 'To bring about less government, more responsibility, and a better world.' We also prefer that they be serious students of the Communist conspiracy and have at least begun to pursue such an education on their own prior to joining the society.

"There are no restrictions because of race, religion, political party affiliation or color.

"Because of our policy of not seeking publicity, we do not publicize the introductory meetings that are designed to acquaint prospective members with the background, purposes, and aims of the John Birch Society. Attendance is by invitation only; but no attempt is made to prevent the attendance of anyone who has a sincere desire to learn more about the society.

"The introductory meeting generally runs close to three hours. It consists of a two-hour film, in which Mr. Robert Welch outlines the background of the cold war and the objectives and structure of the John Birch Society; a coffee break in the middle of the film; a few remarks by the co-ordinator in attendance, or someone appointed by him; and a question and answer period.

"The material covered by Mr. Welch in the film is mostly taken from the first and last chapters of the *Blue Book of the John Birch Society*—and a reading of those two chapters will acquaint you with 95 percent of the material covered in the film. However, if you—or any member of your staff—should like to attend one of these introductory meetings, I would be pleased to arrange it for you.

"Those people who desire to join fill out membership applications which are submitted to either the home office or the co-ordinator in the field. Upon acceptance (which is usually always a routine procedure), the member is referred to a neighborhood chapter by the co-ordinator, or someone appointed by him.

"It should be noted that there is an application blank in every copy of the *Blue Book of the John Birch Society* published. Anyone purchasing a copy of the blue book has an opportunity to submit an application for membership." (Affidavit of Harry Browne.)

The subcommittee did not avail itself of the offer of Mr. Browne to attend an introductory meeting, but did have some of its representatives participate without the knowledge of Mr. Browne or any of the others present, and their reports showed that his description of these meetings was substantially correct.

As will be seen, however, all of the efforts to prevent infiltration were not successful, and some of the chapter meetings have been considerably off the prescribed pattern. Ordinarily, a local chapter meeting is opened with a prayer or by giving the salute to the Flag. The chapter leader then opens the meeting for business, and the monthly bulletin is discussed, together with the items of the agenda and plans for the coming month. These may consist of reading and reporting on anti-Communist or patriotic literature on the list recommended to the society's members by the national office at Belmont, on letter-writing campaigns to public officials, on activities through various front organizations and analysis and action on pending local and national legislation. Members receive, each month, an envelope and a printed form on which they report their activities for the past month, enclose their dues and contributions and make such comments or criticisms as they wish. These forms are then sent to the national office at Belmont for study.

No one may wander into a meeting of the John Birch Society; no strangers are admitted. But any member may bring friends who manifest an interest in the movement.

Local chapters vary in size from 8 to 20 or 30. When a chapter becomes too populous to be efficiently handled, it is split. Chapters thus vary considerably in size, and there are approximately 300 active chapters of the John Birch Society now operating in California. When new chapters are formed, either from a group of at least eight recruits or by the split of a large chapter into two or more smaller ones, the chapter leaders are selected by the members with the advice of the co-ordinator. Until the leaders are appointed, the chapters are handled by the section leader, who continues to work with the leaders through personal contact.

Some members are affiliated directly with the home chapter at Belmont, Massachusetts, on a sort of member-at-large basis. It is thus impossible to arrive at any precise estimate of the number of Birch members in California. Most of the chapters are located in the southern part of the state, the numbers diminishing as one travels northward. There are chapters in virtually all of the southern counties; there are chapters in the San Joaquin, Santa Clara and Sacramento Valleys, in the Bay area, down the Peninsula, and several in the extreme northern portion of the state and throughout the Mother Lode region. We are sure that we are reasonably accurate in putting the number of chapters at 300, and we can only estimate the members at between five and six thousand, but with an influence through front organizations, contacts with other right-wing groups, and through the literature of the society far in excess of that number. If the society exerts an influence outside the formal membership that is comparable to that of the Communist Party, for example, there would be at least 60,000 persons in California oriented toward the Birch program.

There has been some speculation to the effect that the John Birch Society has an organizational relationship with several other movements such as the Coalition of Patriotic Societies, the Cinema Educational Guild, the American Public Relations Forum, Educational News Service, Institute of Special Research, Facts and Education, Americanism Educational League, and the Council for Economic Education. All of these organizations, with the exception of the Coalition of Patriotic Societies, were listed in a publication issued by the California Teachers Association's Research Department. The document purported to present facts about the nature and activities of the John Birch Society, was thereafter found to be inaccurate in several respects, and was withdrawn—but only after it had a wide circulation among California teachers and educational administrators.

This PTA report stated that “. . . it is reasonable to assume” that the society would support various organizations that were listed—including Gerald L. K. Smith's movement and the California Free Enterprise Association. We found no evidence to substantiate these assumptions. In the *Birch Monthly Bulletin* for May 1961, there appeared a list of the organizations supported by the society, pages 23 and 24,

accompanied by the statement that: "None of these groups are affiliated with us in any way. The list follows:

American Coalition of Patriotic Societies Rm. 515, 1025 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington 6, D.C.	Freedom in Action 2017 Gulf Bldg. Houston 2, Tex.
American Council of Christian Laymen Madison 1, Wis.	Intercollegiate Society of Individualists 410 Lafayette Bldg. Philadelphia 6, Pa.
Anti-Communist League of America 209 S. LaSalle St. Chicago 4, Ill.	National Laymen's Council Church League of America 1407 Hill Ave. Wheaton, Ill.
Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation P.O. Box 321, Clayton Beach St. Louis 5, Mo.	The Network of Patriotic Letter Writers Box 2003 D Pasadena, Calif.
Catholic Freedom Foundation 711 Knickerbocker Ave. Brooklyn 21, N.Y.	The Patrick Henry League Box 383, Main Post Office Yonkers, N.Y.
Christian Crusade Tulsa 2, Okla.	Public Action, Incorporated 131 E. 69th St. New York 21, N.Y.
The Congress of Freedom 1330 Turner Blvd. Omaha 5, Neb.	20th Century Reformation Hour Haddon and Frazer Aves. Collingwood, N.J.
Freedom Club The First Congregational Church of Los Angeles 535 S. Hoover St. Los Angeles 5, Calif.	We, The People! 111 N. Wabash Chicago 2, Ill.

Robert Welch has insisted in blunt terms that no loosely organized movement that devotes itself to academic studies concerning the origin and advancement of the world Communist movement can accomplish much in the fight against subversion. He has repeatedly declared that any effective organization must have a strong central control; it must function with the precision that only comes from discipline; his society is frankly monolithic and authoritarian.

We have not quoted extensively from the *Blue Book* of the John Birch Society, because it is a lengthy volume, and because those who may be interested in studying this basic ideological and historical work may do so by purchasing a copy at one of the libraries above mentioned, or by sending to the national headquarters of the society at Belmont 78, Massachusetts. It is appropriate, however, to summarize chapters one and two of the *Blue Book*, because this is the material that is first presented to prospective recruits for the society at the introductory meetings.

Chapter one consists of 39 pages and is entitled "Look at the Score." It traces the rise of the communist movement and the development of the cold war. The first three paragraphs dealing with the Communist movement since the death of Lenin sets the pattern for what follows:

"Lenin died in 1924. But before he died he had laid down for his followers the strategy for this conquest. It was, we should readily admit, brilliant, farseeing, realistic, and majestically simple. It has been paraphrased and summarized as follows: 'First, we will take Eastern Europe. Next, the masses of Asia. Then we

shall encircle that last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack; it will fall like an over-ripe fruit into our hands.' To make doubly clear what he meant and how firmly he meant it, with regard to taking Asia ahead of Western Europe, and then using Asia as a stepping stone and base from which to conquer Western Europe and the rest of the world, the strategy was also stated that, for the Communist, the road to Paris led through Peking and Calcutta. Today you can easily see how that road to Paris is leading back from Peking through Calcutta, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Algiers.

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, there are many remarkable things about that three-step strategy. But the most remarkable is that the Communists have never wavered from it one iota in the 35 years since it was promulgated. Through famines which they deliberately caused in order to collectivize agriculture, through whatever industrialization they have achieved, through wars which they have cleverly and cold-bloodedly brought on and prolonged for the help of such wars in their plans, through periods of peace and prosperity elsewhere in the world, through power struggles within the Kremlin itself, through apparent changes and reversals in the party line that make non-Communist heads swim in confusion, through every upheaval and opportunity, the Communists have always kept their eyes unwaveringly on this strategy and on plans to carry it out.

"They have let nothing stand in their way, and nothing diverts them. They have used the philosophy of socialism as an ideological weapon, in this struggle, whenever they could and for whatever it was worth. But it was only one of their many weapons. They have also used bribery, lies, bluff, brutality, the countless tentacles of treason, murder on a scale never before dreamed of in the world, and every possible means to advance them on the road, without the slightest concern for any moral difference in these various means. And above all, they have used patience. A patient gradualism has been the most important key to the Communists' overwhelming successes." (*Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, 8th printing, pp. 11-12.)

Then comes a description of the processes through which the strategy described by Welch was implemented: recognition of the Soviet Union by this country in 1933; the Communist domination of the satellite nations following World War II; Communist occupation of North Korea, infiltration of Vietnam and Laos, seizure of Tibet and half of Indochina, and Communist penetration in the Latin American countries.

Next Mr. Welch discusses domestic subversion, stressing alleged massive infiltration of sensitive positions in our government by Communist agents and their sympathizers.

"There are three possible ways by which the Communists might take us over," continues the *Blue Book*. "One would be, through a sufficient amount of infiltration and propaganda, to disguise communism as just another political party; and thus to get enough

Communist agents and sympathizers into positions of power in our government to enable them to seize formal power by a peaceful *coup d'état*, as they did in Czechoslovakia in February 1948. We do not anticipate that development.

"The second method would be by fomenting internal civil war in this country, and aiding the Communist side in that war with all necessary military might. This is, of course, the method they used in China. But in the long struggle in China the Kremlin was handicapped by the need for keeping its own intervention from being accurately understood and appraised by other nations. By the time the Soviet rulers ever came to apply this plan to our country, there obviously would be no compelling reason for them to hold back in any way.

* * * * *

"But there is a third method which is far more in accordance with Lenin's long-range strategy. It is one which they are clearly relying on most heavily. And this is taking us over by a process so gradual and insidious that Soviet rule is slipped over so far on the American people, before they even realize it is happening, that they can no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens, but can resist the Communist tyranny only by themselves becoming conspirators against the established government. The process in that direction is going on right now, gradually but surely and with ever-increasing spread and speed. (*Blue Book*, op. cit., pp. 27-29.)

In the concluding chapter of the *Blue Book*, entitled "Through the John Birch Society," Welch proposes formation of the movement, states that it is to be "a monolithic body," that will "operate under completely authoritative control at all levels," and concludes thus:

"We do not have to be too late, and we do not have to lose the fight. Communism has its weaknesses, and the Communist conspiracy has its vulnerable points. We have many layers of strength not yet rotted by all of the infiltration and political sabotage to which we have been subjected. Our danger is both immense and imminent; but it is not beyond the possibility of being overcome by the resistance that is still available. All we must find and build and use, to win, is sufficient understanding. Let's create that understanding and build that resistance, with everything mortal man can put into the effort—while there still is time.

"Then, while we are destroying and after we have destroyed the Communist tyranny, let's drive on towards our higher goals of more permanent accomplishment; towards an era of less government and more responsibility, in which we can create a better world." (*Blue Book*, op. cit., p. 174.)

Infiltration At Santa Barbara

The founder of the society anticipated that there would be efforts to infiltrate it by both Communists and crackpots. Precautions were taken to prevent such occurrences, but the measures were not always successful. By reserving to himself the authority to expel any member at any

time and for any reason, Welch was in a position to take immediate steps to end any internal disruption started by infiltrators. But despite the most elaborate precautions it was inevitable that some of the chapters would nevertheless be infiltrated. At Santa Barbara it was amazingly easy, and the results most damaging to the prestige of the movement.

Soon after several local chapters had been instituted in the Santa Barbara area, it was decided to form a small unit composed of students at the University of California campus near that city. At the same time a front called the Freedom Club was established with a membership of five non-Birch students plus nine student Birchers. These two groups were functioning when David Alan Arnold enrolled as a freshman during the winter-spring semester of 1961. The Santa Barbara *News-Press* had just started a series of highly critical articles about the Birch Society. Young Arnold, an 18-year-old political science major, read these accounts and went to the Birch American Opinion Library to see what the furor was about. There he met Chet Merriam, 26, who had been appointed co-ordinator for the Santa Barbara area. Older Birch officials had been unable to persuade Welch that Merriam was too young, too dramatic and extremist for such a responsibility.

Merriam invited Arnold to attend a co-ordinating meeting at a private residence in Santa Barbara, and in the meantime the latter had joined the Freedom Club. The president of the club told him in strict confidence that it was, in fact, only a front for the Birch Society. At the co-ordinating meeting there were between 90 and 100 persons present, and routine matters were discussed.

Having ingratiated himself into the complete confidence of Chet Merriam, young Arnold was soon appointed chapter leader for the Birch student unit, and vice-president of the Freedom Club. This latter group, it should be made clear, had no connection whatever with the Freedom Club of the Congregational Church in Los Angeles. But Arnold was a triple-threat infiltrator, and launched a front of his own called Publius—and from this vantage he and his cohorts attacked both the Birch Society and the Freedom Club. On the very night of his appointment as chapter leader of the Birch student unit, Arnold called a meeting, tipped off a reporter for the Santa Barbara *News-Press*, and the latter contacted the district attorney and arranged to have the proceedings taped. The recorded remarks by Merriam remove any doubt about the accuracy of those who believed he was too extremist, and the mistake Welch made in overruling them when he persisted in making Merriam Santa Barbara co-ordinator.

He told the assembled students that within one year Mexico would be in Communist hands, and that in two years the United States would be under the domination of the Kremlin. Furthermore, he declared, two of California's highest officials were pro-Communist, and the University of California was heavily infiltrated. In addition Merriam told Arnold that the Birchers had an underground organization, fully equipped, prepared for any emergency, and headed by former intelligence officers.

Our investigation has not disclosed the existence of any underground Birch apparatus operating in this state, nor are the statements made by Merriam characteristic of statements made at any of the meetings of the society our representatives have attended.

In the most recent edition of the *Blue Book* there is a statement to the effect that according to estimates of "the best informed authorities" here are at least "30 huge Communist espionage rings operating in this country against the only two or three that have been only partly exposed." (Page 24.) There certainly were Soviet espionage rings functioning in the United States, and it is only reasonable to believe that the Soviet Union has not suddenly abandoned its espionage efforts here. We have just shipped back Colonel Abel, who was convicted of spying against us. Any skeptic who doubts such activities had better read the record, which is readily available and indisputable. And any responsible public official who is rash enough to deny the dangers of domestic subversion has simply not paid sufficient attention to his homework. But a sweeping assertion that there are 30 Soviet espionage rings working here now, and failing to identify the "informed authorities" as proof of the statement, is exceedingly ill-advised. This is the sort of material that inflames the imagination of a young man like Merriam, and spreads rapidly among people of similar temperament. It is almost as dangerous as the dissemination of the idea that the Communist peril in this country is over, and we can all forget about it, and that we can become informed about the front organizations, infiltration techniques, characteristics and objectives of the Communist Party by perusing the Constitution of the United States. It is, of course, essential that we are familiar with the Constitution; but to believe that this is a substitute for learning about the Communist enemy we face is ridiculous.

The effect of such statements on Merriam is immediately evident to anyone who listens to the tape recording of this meeting of students called by David Arnold. There was a stridence and excitement attending the proceedings that was both disturbing and juvenile.

After this meeting had been held and duly recorded, Arnold addressed a letter of resignation to Chet Merriam, Postoffice Box 1083, Santa Barbara, stating that his activities as vice-president of the Freedom Club and as chapter leader of the John Birch Society on the university campus were interfering with his health and his studies. Arnold thereafter was interviewed by several newspapers, including, of course, the Santa Barbara *News-Press*, the Los Angeles *Examiner*, the Los Angeles *Herald-Express*, and the Los Angeles *Times*. To representatives of these papers, and recently to representatives of this subcommittee, David Arnold made it abundantly clear that such irresponsible statements came only from Merriam; that he had heard no such statements from other members of the Birch Society, and said there were many fine, patriotic people in the society. He also was emphatic to state that he did not mean to imply that the danger of domestic Communist subversion should be taken lightly, declaring: "I don't want extremists on the other side to take this as supporting their claims that there is no Communist threat, and that there is no need to fight it. The Communist threat is no ghost."

Grand Right and Left

The attack against the John Birch Society commenced with an article in the *People's World*, California Communist paper, in February 1961, although the Chicago *Daily News* had attacked statements

made in *The Politician* and the *Blue Book* several months previously. This was sensational news, and as the John Birch Society started to grow rapidly in California, several newspapers took up the attack. Naturally, these articles varied with the basic editorial policies of the papers. The Gene Blake series in the Los Angeles *Times* were the most objective and dignified, and gained the respect both of Birch officials and its most critical opponents. The Santa Barbara *News-Press* was much less restrained.

At first the officials of the society believed the furor would diminish slowly and finally end. But they were very wrong. As national magazines took up the subject, and as extreme leftist organizations added their criticisms, the intensity of the articles increased—both in volume and in emotion. Virtually all seized upon the indefensible accusations Welch had made in *The Politician* and attributed them to the membership of the society. Pointing out that only a bunch of crackpots would believe such statements about our national leaders, it was relatively simple to depict the entire organization as a large and dangerous accumulation of emotionally unstable people who were convinced that our entire government was honeycombed with Soviet agents, and that we were about to be taken over by the Soviet Union.

Matters were not eased when Welch launched the campaign to impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren, and such well-known conservatives as George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Russell Kirk expressed their views that the venture was foolish. They pointed out that it was one thing to criticize the Supreme Court decisions in the loyalty-security field because they were making it easier for the Communists to subvert us, but it was quite another matter to start impeachment proceedings against the Chief Justice for having lent his weight to those decisions.

Newsweek, (now controlled by the Washington *Post*), carried stories about both the right and left organizations, including the John Birch Society, on April 10, 1961; *Commentary* published 12 pages concerning the society entitled "Fundamentalism on the Right," in its issue for August, 1961; "Revivalism on the Far Right," appeared in *The Reporter* on July 20, 1961; *Time* had an article in its issue for December 8, 1961, entitled "The Ultras," wherein it linked together under this category the John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, We, the People!, the Conservative Society of America, the National Indignation Convention, and the All-American Society.

These are only a few, selected at random from many; but the theme has been taken up by political figures. Some have openly repudiated support by the Birch Society, while others have welcomed it. Some have bitterly attacked the organization and its members; others have disagreed with the statements of Welch, but declared that the overwhelming majority of the members are solid, average Americans who are tired of what they deem a soft attitude by our government toward communism, and want to do something about it. Most frequently repeated charges against the society were that it was a fascist movement; that it operated in secrecy; that it was composed of thousands of emotionally unstable members who were smearing all who disagreed with their views as either Communists or Communist sympathizers.

Probably the most savage criticism came from the Communist Party. This was, of course, quite natural, as the party is now being harassed through Supreme Court decisions that upheld the finding of the Subversive Activities Control Board that the party was the tool of a foreign government, and requiring the registration of members. The John Birch Society proposed to first study communism and then swing into action against it on all fronts. The first specific Communist criticism of any significance was the attack in the California *People's World* on February 25, 1961. But in June 1961 there appeared a booklet of 47 pages by Mike Newberry, entitled "The Fascist Revival: The Inside Story of the John Birch Society," and published by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. The tone of Mr. Newberry's booklet may be set by quoting from page one:

"In the recreation room in the cellar of a suburban home on Long Island several men are drinking beer.

"Saturday night. High jinks and jokes and 'the boys' feel happy. It seems, at first, like a typical weekend party. Originally the recreation room was built for the children of the host, an advertising man, and there are children's toys in the corner under the color TV. On the bar, beside the beer glasses, is a doll.

"At the feet of the doll is a book, *The John Franklin Letters*, opened to the chapter, 'Thank God (for) the National Rifle Association.'

" 'Let's get started,' the host hiccups.

"The bleary guests line up at one end of the recreation room. Rifles are in their fists.

"One by one they begin target practice, rifles wobbly, and the cork ceiling muffles the shots in the night. The revelers of Saturday night are shooting at a photo of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court, hung on a target. Cheers ring out when a shot pierces the eye of the photo.

"Fantastic! Insanity! Madness!

"No, these gentlemen of suburbia are merely obeying the latest advice of the John Birch Society."

Newberry, a writer for the communist *Weekly Worker* in New York, then proceeds to equate guerilla bands, anti-Semites, and fascists—lumping them all together as Birchers. He sets forth more angry allegations by calling Welch a fuehrer, qualifying some of his statements by saying that, "If the upper echelons of the big businessmen who run the Birch Society try to keep their hands clean of this filth, in public at least, their errand boys and handymen do the dirty work for them. The secret, authoritarian Birch Society is in the hands of men playing with fascism" (p. 7).

"The elite' of each community compose these clubs," writes Newberry, "Members are selected from the business, church, police, military, and political officialdom of the town, who could, and often do, control community affairs, and who meet in secret in private homes, with all the conspiratorial trappings of a Grade Z movie" (p. 7).

"Was Eisenhower a 'communist'? Is Supreme Court Chief Justice a 'communist'? Of course, replies the Birch Society. They, shrieks the *American Opinion*, are all part of the same plot" (p. 10).

In setting the scene for his description of the members of the Birch National Council, Newberry engages in more dramatics:

"The National Association of Manufacturers was holding its annual conference.

"On the banquet tables of the Waldorf-Astoria's Grand Ballroom in New York was an epicurean feast of canapes, caviar, and champagne. Flushed of face and with a glint in their eyes, the goodly-sized manufacturers laughed and joked and camaraderie was high. Wine, women and who-knows-what were in the offing.

"However, at the moment, there was serious business at hand.

"Solemnly, the big businessmen became quiet. The highest tribunal of corporate wealth was about to bestow its most honored award on one of its grand old men. A respectful awe silenced the noisy crowd as a benign Chicago banker and manufacturer, Cola G. Parker, rose to the rostrum to accept the plaque that named him the 'N.A.M. Man of the Year.'

"Cola G. Parker was indeed the Grand Old Man of the N.A.M. He had been the top executive of the big business group for years. He was former chairman, former president, former head of its executive committee, and former head of its powerful finance committee. He was 'Mr. N.A.M.'

"Yet, he was now 'retiring.'

"That is, Cola G. Parker, the N.A.M. Man of the Year, was 'retiring' to the National Council of the John Birch Society!

"In the inner circle of the John Birch Society Council 'Mr. N.A.M.' would soon meet three other past presidents of the N.A.M., two vice presidents, and a dozen N.A.M. directors.

"It would be like old home week. For the N.A.M. is to the John Birch Society as father is to son" (pp. 12-13).

Having then described how the National Association of Manufacturers masterminded the establishment of the society, inaugurated its first chapters, lent it their prestige and financial support, the author asserts that serving on the National Birch Council with these former members of the N.A.M. are many retired officers of the United States Armed Forces.

"There is no question," he writes, "about the flamboyant role that open, bombastic and powerful 'retired' generals, admirals, and lesser officers of intelligence and CIA, who strut about like cocks of the walk, have assumed in the Birch Society and its 'fronts.' There are enough military men in the leadership of 'the fascist revival' to form their own general staff."

The list, according to Newberry, is comprised of the following retired officers: General W. Payton Campbell; Major General Charles A. Wiloughby; Colonel Lawrence E. Bunker; Lieutenant General Charles B. Stone; Lieutenant General William Lee; General Alfred Wedemeyer; Lieutenant General John O'Daniel; Lieutenant General P. A. del Valle;

Vice Admiral A. E. Jarrell; Rear Admiral Harley Cope; Colonel John Beatty; Colonel Victor J. Fox (whose true name, asserts Newberry, is Robert Winson) (pp. 18-19).

For the rest of his booklet, Newberry asserts that the Birch Society is connected with racists in the deep south; with the white citizens councils of New Orleans and its anti-Negro policies; with the Ku Klux Klan, and with anti-labor organizations.

The reason for what he terms the fascist revival is the decline of capitalism in this country, Newberry concludes. It is a basic theory of Marxism that the capitalist form of government contains the seeds of its own destruction, and that during its death throes it will resist desperately. Now that our way of life faces a crisis, contends the author, it desperately erects such organizations as the Birch Society in an effort to protect itself.

In previous reports we have frequently stated that the American Communist Party was patterned after the Soviet model; that the peculiar Aesopian language, the propaganda, the activities all follow the Soviet prototype. At the conclusion of Soviet propaganda publications there is usually an exhortation urging firmer devotion to the class struggle, more international solidarity, more determined warfare against the class enemy. The exhortations are liberally sprinkled with exclamation marks. Mr. Newberry, writing Communist propaganda, employs the customary slap-bang, insulting, irresponsible style throughout. And he ends it as follows:

"Let our answer to the fascist attack on democracy be to increase democracy, equality and freedom!

"Let our answer to the fascist onslaught on civil liberties be to defend the democratic traditions of America!

"Let our answer to the fascist cry of 'war now!' be 'peace now!'"

It is interesting to contrast this foaming assault with the dignified approach of the Los Angeles *Times* articles by Gene Blake, heretofore mentioned, and with the scholarly and objective treatment in *Commentary*.

Mr. Edward Hunter, an expert on psychological warfare, recently testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate concerning the new drive to discredit all anticommunist operations in this country, and in passing had this to say about Mr. Newberry's booklet:

"Never, since the most virulent days of Goebbel's 'hate' propaganda, has anything appeared in the United States comparable to a 47-page booklet, dated June 1961, put out by the Communist Party of the United States in connection with its drive to smother the expanding anti-Communist movement in this country.

"The 35-cent booklet is entitled *The Fascist Revival*, and purports to tell 'the inside story of the John Birch Society.' The author is Mike Newberry, another *Worker* specialist in unbridled smear.

"The booklet is evidence of the degree to which the Communist Party considers itself immune from libel, through a complex legal barrier it has built around itself, and by the exploitation of the double standard. Communists have created an atmosphere in which those victimized by its lies feel it is futile to seek recompense.

"The virulent tone of the booklet, with all stops out in vituperative propaganda, indicates that the Communist Party would like to create a new, Pavlovian trigger word for this period in its psychological warfare, and believes 'Birchite' might be put into the language this way, replacing McCarthyite. The impact of the latter fabricated word apparently no longer is strong enough to meet red needs. Communist deeds have deprived it of its effectiveness in Red 'spywar.'

"The Communists now seek to create a new scare word. This would evoke a conditioned response in a background of fear, founded on the specter of a fascist plot inside the United States, which would attack all minorities, and spread terror to everyone. This Red propaganda objective is a terror maneuver. It would be what they call the 'correct' line for this time, to make the American public jittery through pressure from abroad, by manufactured crimes in places such as Berlin and Laos, and by pressure at home through visions of a 'fascist revival.' A jittery United States would be off balance and vulnerable." ("The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program," hearing before the Sub-committee on Internal Security, July 11, 1961. United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., p. 75.)

It would be a mistake to attribute all criticism of the John Birch Society to the Communists, or to credit the Communists with actually planning the propaganda crusade against the society without proof. Certainly there is ample evidence to the effect that a recent Moscow directive called attention to the rising tide of anti-communism and stressed the imperative task of squelching it; there is also ample evidence that the American Communist Party undertook to do precisely that, and launched a campaign to label all members of the society as very close to insane, fascist, sadistic, and irresponsible. Furthermore, there is evidence that many people tend to so label all anti-Communist movements—official and unofficial alike. But there is also much proof available to show that there is a growing number of critics who are neither extremists of the right or the left, and who violently dislike any organization headed by one man, when that man persists in making alarmist statements to his followers to the effect that our national leaders cannot be trusted, that our government is teeming with spies, and that the Russians spun the complicated plot to foist Pasternak's book on a naive world.

As the criticisms mounted, officials began to react. Governor Brown was moved to ask the state Attorney General to make an investigation and report. This was done through his assistant, Howard H. Jewel, who prepared a report for Attorney General Mosk's signature and submitted it to the Governor on July 7, 1961. This document, consisting of 14½ typewritten pages, does not purport to be an exhaustive report;

indeed, it frankly states that the entire paper is intended to be no more than the personal opinions of the state Attorney General. In that regard Mr. Mosk declared :

"Having thus divested myself of some personal observations on the John Birch Society, I must hasten to add that they are just that—personal observations." (Attorney General's Report, p. 13.)

And on the following page he adds :

"As Attorney General, I have no greater right, but no less a right, to an expression of my opinion than any other Californian. This is the right of which I avail myself here. Accordingly, we have not conducted an investigation of the John Birch Society, nor do we intend to—we are not 'Birch Watchers.' "

It should be observed that the document opens as follows, being addressed to Governor Brown :

"Pursuant to your request of recent date, I am reporting herewith on the John Birch Society."

The second paragraph of the report, on page one, sets the pattern for what ensues :

"The cadre of the John Birch Society seems to be formed primarily of wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes. They are bound together by an obsessive fear of 'communism,' a word they define to include any ideas differing from their own, even though these ideas may differ even more markedly with the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Khrushchev. In response to this fear they are willing to give up a large measure of the freedoms guaranteed them by the United States Constitution in favor of accepting the dictates of their 'founder.' They seek, by fair means or foul, to force the rest of us to follow their example. They are pathetic."

As will be seen hereafter, our own investigations cause us to disagree with the conclusion that the members are primarily formed of the three classes specified above. Neither have we found that any members of the society have relinquished any constitutional freedoms. On the contrary, they are determined that they shall not be whittled away by Welch or anyone else.

On page 4, Robert Welch is referred to as "an embittered candy maker" of Belmont, Massachusetts. We have studied Welch's life, his business career, educational background, and have read almost everything he ever wrote—all of his writings in connection with the society. We do not agree with much of what he wrote or what he has said, but we did not find him embittered, either through reading his writings or through personally interrogating him.

The report closes by pointing out that :

"Understandably, neither Welch nor the Communists brook dissension [sic] or the discussion which is its progenitor" (p. 15).

Our own study of the society brings us to almost the same conclusion, but not quite. Dissension assuredly exists in many of the local chapters,

but it cannot exist very long, as the members causing the protracted dissent will be asked to resign. And each person, upon being admitted to membership, must execute this agreement:

" . . . I agree that my membership may be revoked at any time, by a duly appointed officer of the society, without the reason being stated, on refund of the pro-rata part of my dues paid in advance."

We have mentioned Albert J. Lima as chairman of the Northern Division of the Communist Party of California. His present views concerning the John Birch Society are therefore worth quoting. Referring to the State Attorney General's Report on the Society, Lima declared in April, 1963, that ". . . one spokesman for the liberals described the John Birch Society as consisting of little old ladies in tennis shoes. The reality is far different. They are a serious political movement with long-range objectives. Therefore, one skirmish leads to another. The ultra-Right will be removed from political life when the sections of big business which spawn this movement are stripped of their political and economic position." (California Rejects Anti-Communism," by Albert J. Lima. *Political Affairs*, April, 1963, p. 18 at p. 21)

And there is often long and vehement discussion at meetings of the national executive committee and the national council of the society. But, as will be seen later, these bodies act in advisory capacities only, and even on these high levels the final authority is Robert Welch. We will also discuss the situation that exists at the present time between Welch and his national council, which has provoked more controversy than any other matter that has ever come before that body, and no little dissension, as well.

As the critical statements about the society and its leadership persisted month after month, the members determined to counteract it. A study of the monthly bulletins discloses this step-by-step process, but without access to the mass media of communication there was little the Birch Society could accomplish.

As the outright Communist press onslaught abated somewhat, and the propaganda type of publication from the extreme left began to wane, there was a brief period of respite. Then came criticism from the right. The late syndicated newspaper columnist, George Sokolsky, well known as a determined conservative, termed the move to impeach Chief Justice Warren ill advised; so did other conservative figures, as we have already indicated. At the beginning of the widespread publicity, many conservatives declared that in this sort of an *ad hoc* organization, there was no reason to call it a secret society merely because it did not wish to open its meetings to the general public. They disagreed violently with the statements in *The Politician*, but did not believe guilt by association should be applied to impute Welch's statements—made before the society was formed—to the members who joined several years thereafter. They saw no reason to criticize the movement because the founder saw fit to run it himself, as he told the members not to do anything he advocated unless they fully agreed.

Statements from the critics on the right and left present striking contrasts. As we have seen, the most pointed criticisms charged that

the Birch Society was fascist, secret and conspiratorial, crackpot, anti-Semitic—composed of members who were suffering from schizophrenic delusions. The conservative press and leading figures on the right contended that while they didn't go along with the statements in *The Politician*, that anyone could buy the *Blue Book*, anyone could buy *American Opinion*, any member of the society could bring his friends to meetings, and in some localities meetings were open to the public and advertised in the newspapers; that it was not unreasonable for the founder of a movement to prescribe the conditions under which it should operate, and that many of the extreme charges against the society by its angriest critics were fully as irresponsible and unfounded as the Welch charges in *The Politician*.

As the publicity continued Welch wrote in the monthly bulletins that are issued from Belmont, Massachusetts, that such attacks were to be expected as the society grew and spread its influence across the country. It was also natural, he said, that weak members should be shaken out of the organization by the criticism, and that recruiting should be slowed. But the society nevertheless has been doubling in size every four months from February 1960, to December of that year, and since that time gaining approximately 1,500 new members each month. According to the *Bulletin*, resignations diminished as the intensity of the criticism of the society increased; members were angered and determined not to be alienated through what they deemed were utterly false charges.

The *Bulletin* for February 1962 is in some respects the most important issue of that publication to date. On page 2, Welch announced that an attack from the right was developing and running parallel to the attack from the left—although completely different in character.

“... there has gradually been getting underway an attack on us from the forces of the right, which is just now growing so extensive an affair that we simply cannot afford to ignore it any longer.”

The *Bulletin* then describes how, in Welch's opinion, Robert Taft and Senator Joseph McCarthy were shorn of their influence as anti-Communists through Communist attacks. The slogan used against Taft was “I like Taft, but he can't win.” The slogan against McCarthy was “I like what McCarthy is trying to do, but I can't stand his methods.” And the slogan that has developed against Welch is “The John Birch Society is a wonderful group of people and a wonderful organization, if they would only get rid of Bob Welch and his dictatorial control.”

But, Welch continued, the Communist Party was deeply bothered about the Birch Society's growth and the persistence of its activities against the entire party line in this country and abroad.

On page 5 of the February *Bulletin* Welch said:

“... the thing that really frightens the Communists about the John Birch Society is our monolithic structure. Their greatest weakness and danger, in facing the society, is from the effectiveness of our concerted action, the permanence and unwavering direction of our purpose, the unshakable solidarity of our organiza-

tion, and its potential for the future—all of which derive to a considerable extent from this monolithic structure. So the Communists are attempting, exactly as they did with regard to McCarthy's methods and Taft's vote-getting magic and many smaller problems, to convert this greatest danger into their most potent weapon of attack in the particular situation at hand."

These remarks naturally lead one to inquire how Welch knows that the idea Taft couldn't have been elected President even if he did win the nomination actually originated with the Communists; or how he knows the communists also started the anti-McCarthy slogan. He may be perfectly correct, of course. But what he implies is that everyone who thought Taft couldn't get enough votes to be elected President, and all who disliked McCarthy's technique were Communists. There are, of course, many staunch anti-Communists who hold either or both of these views. There is a very serious danger in falling into the false belief that because the Communists held and circulated these views, then all who also held these opinions were Communist dupes who were unwittingly aiding the conspiracy to subvert the nation, and should therefore be undermined along with the Communists. In this regard, Welch stated:

"... Of course it is not the Communists themselves who have been giving it (the attack against Welch) widespread circulation. Probably 95 percent of those who made such devastating use of the slogan 'I like Taft but he can't win' were conservative anti-Communists who had no idea that they were mouthing a phrase, and promoting a scheme, which had been designed by the Communists. The same is true with regard to other examples. It is only because the Communists are able to devise such 'reasonable' sounding slogans, and then to get good anti-Communists to spread these slogans for them, that they make the slogans so effective. And of course the same thing is true with regard to the present example." (*Bulletin, op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.)

The *Bulletin* then stated that it was impossible to ascertain in how many places this anti-Welch slogan had been planted, "or how many times it has been replanted by the Communists themselves." But from those sources, Welch declared, "it spread to some of our most prominent members and friends, to a few strongly anti-Communist members of both the House and the Senate, and even to a few members of our council. We believe now that the Communists who designed the whole drive expected the movement they had thus set in motion to be early, palpably, and completely successful." (*Bulletin, op. cit.*, p. 7.)

The membership at large was unaware that some council members were advising Welch to relinquish at least a part of his authority. In June 1961 it was being suggested at executive committee meetings that someone replace Welch, so his earlier statements could no longer provide a basis for charges against the society as a whole, and the subject was scheduled to be discussed further at the council meeting in September of that year.

By December the matter had apparently been shelved, but was unexpectedly fanned into flame

"By a right wing group with tenuous but very widespread and influential connections. And the slogan, which most of our members had never even heard of during the past many months, when it had been something of a headache and a time-consuming topic for ourselves, is now being tossed around, amid both whispered slurs and outspoken disparagements of all kinds, in such ways that the whole argument is reaching and disturbing our membership at large. Which is why we have felt constrained to bring the matter at least out into the open in this bulletin." (*Bulletin, op. cit.*, p. 8.)

Welch then frankly described his relationship to the council, and his attitude toward the relinquishment of authority.

"... I am glad to listen, and frequently to be overruled in my views or proposals. With regard to the one, by far, most important single matter which has recurrently been before the council for months, I personally have been in firm disagreement with the wishes of the majority. But I respect their judgment so much that I have abided by those wishes. We have an executive committee with which I meet regularly every month. One of its duties is to review these *Bulletins* with me in advance of publication. If they object to any or all of these paragraphs you will never see what I have written here. Their advice has caused me to discard some proposed projects, modify others, and add still others which I had not planned.

"But the ultimate responsibility in all of these matters is one I neither can, nor wish to, escape." (*Bulletin, op. cit.*, p. 9.)

It is too early to predict the outcome of the growing pressures against the continuance of one-man rule by Mr. Welch. As this report is being completed, the matter has been before the national council and openly discussed. Welch has indicated that the authoritarian, monolithic nature of the Birch Society is its greatest asset, and that if the authority is divided much of the anti-Communist drive will be dissipated. As the matter now stands, it appears that Welch has no intention of either resigning or turning control of the movement over to anyone else. As we have already stated, his control is absolute. He listens to the executive committee and the national council, but he makes all the appointments to each body, and technically has the authority to remove any or all of them at any time. He listens to their advice, but is not obliged to follow it—although it may be unanimous. In the event of his illness, or his incapacity to efficiently direct the society for any other reason, there is no provision that the council has any authority to determine that matter or act to remove him from control. The council's status and jurisdiction is defined as follows:

"The *Council* of the John Birch Society was set up during December, and will hold its first meeting in January. Although we carefully waited one year to establish the *Council*, its purposes and functions will be exactly as planned when the society was founded a year ago. It will consist of a small group of outstanding American conservative leaders, most of whose names are well known to most

of our members. And we'll tell you more about the membership and the responsibilities of the *Council* in our bulletin for February." (*Bulletin*, December 31, 1959, p. 22.)

"The basic function of the *Council* is threefold: (1) To show the stature and leadership of the society; (2) to give your founder the benefit of the *Council's* advice and guidance, both in procedural or organizational matters, and in substantive matters of policy; and (3) to select, with absolute and final authority, a successor to myself as head of the John Birch Society, if and when an accident, 'suicide,' or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the communists—or I simply die in bed of old age and a cantankerous disposition." (*Bulletin*, February 1960, p. 6)

National Review for February 13, 1962, a conservative magazine of general circulation, faced the issue squarely. In previous issues this publication had commented on the matter of guilt by association (June 3, 1961, p. 342); on Welch's contention that *Dr. Zhivago* was a Soviet plot (April 11, 1959, p. 645); the Birch move to impeach Chief Justice Warren, (December 30, 1961, p. 442); and on the basic structure of the society (April 22, 1961, p. 241).

This article undertook to explore the problem of whether the John Birch Society could function as an effective anti-Communist organization notwithstanding the fact that its leader continues to make statements through which he expresses "... views on current affairs ... so critically different from those of the members, and so rash and indefensible." And, says *National Review*, when such conservatives as Senator Barry Goldwater, Congressman Walter Judd, Russell Kirk, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and George Sokolsky, agree that Mr. Welch's statements are often rash and indefensible, such criticisms cannot be ascribed to a plot hatched by the Communists. The Communist Party will, of course, gladly capitalize on the situation, as it always does in all such cases. But the best way to prevent this is to carefully refrain from providing it with propaganda material.

One must not confuse active pro-Communists with liberals who proclaim their anti-Communist position while being utterly ineffective in opposition to communism. Unless this distinction is made, says the article, "the mind freezes, and we become consumed in empty rages."

According to this issue of *National Review*, Welch has continued to advance the basic concepts expressed in *The Politician*, but instead of accusing Roosevelt, Truman, Dwight and Milton Eisenhower and John and Allen Dulles of favoring the Communist cause, he has reiterated the thesis in general terms. He has continued to contend that the government is rife with Communist agents; that Castro planned the unsuccessful attempt by this country to foster a counter-revolution so that our prestige would be undermined; that the disagreements between Tito and the U.S.S.R. were planned and phoney; that Nasser of Egypt and Nehru of India were as dedicated to communism as Mao Tse-tung; and that even the 1956 revolts in Poland and Hungary were not genuine efforts to cast off the Soviet grip on those countries, but were also planned by the Kremlin.

"There are members of the John Birch Society," concludes this article, "and they include, in our judgment, some of the most morally energetic, self-sacrificing, and dedicated anti-Communists in America, who ask: But what does it matter, if we and Mr. Welch disagree on a number of things? The answer—Senator Goldwater, Mr. Judd, Russell Kirk, and other critics of Mr. Welch would agree—is in two parts. The first is political: are these disagreements on trivial or substantive matters? It is essential, if one would endorse Mr. Welch's analysis, to believe that the Government of the United States is under the operational control of men who desire to betray this nation and cause us to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. That is a substantive premise from which all political analysis, strategy, and tactics are derivative. Should one, disagreeing with Mr. Welch on so central a matter, nevertheless support him because he is also against federal aid to education and flouridated water? Gerald L.K. Smith will not disagree with Goldwater on most domestic proposals. Should Goldwater then be pro-Gerald Smith? Nikita Khrushchev favors medical aid to the aged. Should the liberals be pro-Khrushchev? Robert Welch cannot be compared to these men, but the point is valid, that there are bounds (often unrecognized by the liberals) to the complimentary dictum, anyone on my left is my ally.

"And, secondly, there is the moral consideration: Can one endorse the efforts of a man who, in one's judgment, goes about bearing false witness?" (*National Review*, February 13, 1962, pp. 83-88.)

This outright repudiation of Welch's leadership by a leading conservative journal, coupled with the rising insistence by the Birch national council and executive committee that he at least delegate some of his responsibilities to others, is now in full swing. It is bound to permeate the entire movement, and it is too early to predict the result. As matters now stand, it appears that Welch will refuse to step down from his position of absolute authority in the society he founded, and for which he established the rules of operation. But the pressures are constantly growing, and with every rash utterance he makes, they will continue to grow. There is no question, as *National Review* points out, that he has stirred the slumbering spirit of patriotism in thousands of Americans, roused them from lethargy, and changed their apathy into a deep desire to first learn the facts about communism and then implement that knowledge with effective and responsible action. The central question, of course, lies in the nature of the training, the accuracy of the information being disseminated through the society, and the responsibility of the action which Mr. Welch prescribes.

Thus the John Birch Society has been caught between the grand right and left—in a surge of criticism ranging from Mike Newberry's venomous booklet, through other extreme left organizations and publications, through the middle-of-the-road media, to the conservatism of *National Review*. And, as we have seen, while most of the critics have leveled their guns at Robert Welch, many have ascribed his beliefs to the entire membership of the society.

Anti-Semitism

Among other unjustified criticisms against the society is the charge that it is anti-Semitic. Our investigation leads us to the opposite conclusion. The organization is open to people of all religions, all races, all political persuasions except those deemed subversive. A member of the society in Southern California stated:

"As a member of the John Birch Society and also a member of the American Jewish League Against Communism, I vehemently deny the allegations of persons or groups claiming that the John Birch Society is a fascist, or any other un-American, collectivist organization. It has been my experience, as a member of a so-called 'minority group,' that I have felt in the society a very great sense of mutual co-operation and respect—a conviction of 'belonging' far above the actual circumstance to be found in daily life outside the society." (Statement from Jerome E. Linz, January 13, 1962.)

Several publications on the extreme right have accused Mr. Welch of welcoming Jews into the society, and Lyrle Clark Van Hyning and Elizabeth Dilling have attacked the movement on the ground that Welch's committees and followers are nothing but "A bunch of Jews and Jew-kissers." (*Bulletin*, April 1961, p. 16.)

There are many Jews on the Birch committees, many in the society; some members have been asked to resign because they were found to be disruptive with their anti-Semitic attitude; the Jewish B'nai B'rith has found no evidence of anti-Semitism, and Welch has explained that in some localities his co-ordinators are working with representatives of the B'nai B'rith to 'squelch anti-Semitism.

Commentary, published by the American Jewish Committee, dealt with this anti-Semitic charge in its issue for August 1961.

"All the evidence available at the moment suggests the presence of a certain ambivalence in the Birch Society on the matter of anti-Semitism. Welch himself seems to be personally without bias toward Jews, and he wants the society to reflect this position. Yet there is no doubt that some local leaders and members are well-known anti-Semites. With one after another of the rabbinical associations and major Jewish civic groups speaking out in complete condemnation of Welch and his movement, there will be rising pressures to respond to the 'Jewish attacks.' Probably Welch will allow some light flirtation with the more sophisticated anti-Semite spokesmen. But it is a testimony to American maturity and the activities of Jewish defense agencies that open anti-Semitism is seen as a dead end today for any 'middle-of-the-road right-wing organization.' " (*Commentary*, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.)

It should also be pointed out here, as it is in a footnote to the article above cited, that Mr. Welch has been consistently opposed to the political activities of Nasser, it being his belief that the Arab nationalists have been abetting the Communists in striving to dominate the entire Middle East. This being in conformity with the predominant Jewish position, tends to further negative charges of anti-Semitism. Indeed, it

may also be pointed out that since Welch is unquestionably not anti-Semitic, and wishes his organization to be open to people of all faiths; and since he is the sole source of authority in the society and has already acted to oust anti-Semites from the movement, there would appear to be little more than empty assumption to the belief that "... he will allow some light flirtation with the more sophisticated anti-Semitic spokesmen." At any rate, our investigations have disclosed no evidence of anti-Semitism on the part of anyone connected with the John Birch Society in California, and much evidence to the effect that it opposes racism in all forms.

Secrecy

The alleged secrecy and conspiratorial atmosphere in which the society is said to operate, coupled with the authoritarian control, have provoked allegations that it is a fascist organization. We found little evidence of secrecy, so far as the conduct of meetings was concerned. David Arnold had no difficulty in penetrating the Birch Society, and, as we have seen, became leader of its secret chapter on the campus of the state university at Santa Barbara, and vice-chairman of its front organization there. The literature of the society may be procured either through one of its bookstores or by writing to the headquarters at Belmont, Massachusetts. Any member may bring his friends to meetings, and anyone may patronize the reading rooms and book outlets.

We experienced no difficulty in sending representatives to meetings of local chapters, nor in obtaining the names of the members. The number of local chapters actively operating in California at the time this report was written was obtained without much trouble, and if there is a secret underground organization connected with the society, its security structure is excellent, as we have endeavored to discover it without success for several years. Aside from the statement made by Chet Merriam to a group of students, we have found no indication whatever of the existence of such an underground.

During the several months of preparation of this report, we interviewed and took statements from many members and officers of the society. In each instance we requested permission to disclose the name of the person from whom a statement or affidavit was received. It would have been possible to secure many times the number of statements we actually took, but it was felt that these were sufficient for our purposes, and there was no point in obtaining more. Statements were received from the following members and officers of the organization:

Mrs. Alma Hagen
James M. Lea
Thomas S. Morehart
Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Masteller
Paul H. Talbert
Herb Rocklitz
Kenneth Pagar
Sylvia and Ben Bone
D. C. and M. V. Ericson
Beverly A. Burton
Mr. M. Louis
Alvah S. Pendell, Jr.
Lowell and Tressa Cates
Mrs. Roger W. Craddock
Keith D. White

E. L. Haynes
Helen D. Phillips
Adolph Neumann
Darleen Meechan
Alfred L. Maguire
Valerie Hanrahan
Robert P. Hollis
Alta G. Weiss
Julie Boyes
Bernice Harvey
D. E. Baker
Kenneth L. Maddux
Frances Taber
Mr. and Mrs. M. J. French
Robert L. Leebody

G. W. Johnson	Mrs. R. M. Bohanan
Ernest D. Phillips	Raymond and Esther Reeser
Mr. and Mrs. Doyle C. Carlson	Marie V. Hackett
Astrid Johnson	William W. Eaton
Carolee Nance	Ann Doty
Mrs. Mary Alice Albaugh	Ursula C. French
Adeline Dickinson	Mary Gibboe
Marilyn Pierose	Josephine Bunbury
Mrs. Nondas Youngblood	Joseph A. Coffman
Georgette McCarthy	Arnold W. Clark
Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence D. Machado	Helen Reddell
Muriel H. Kirk	Edith E. Breyfogle
George A. Ferrier	Chas. A. Levers
Mildred Marshall	C. J. Hawhlitzel
Gerald Mouser	Ralph E. Davis
Robert J. Boyd	Mrs. Patrick H. Cox
Murray and Marion Beebe	Mrs. R. E. Schenke
Rosemary Dawson	Matilda Brooks
Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Goodell	Mrs. Carol M. Dey
Mrs. H. Johnson	Mrs. Don Howell
Jerome E. Luiz	Harry S. Heck
Martha Mullin	Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Innes
James J. Hanrahan	Jacqueline Knight
Henry C. Stephens	Steve H. Pubiak
Gail Reneau	Helen Fitzpatrick
Jay Kaufman, Ph.D.	Hubbard S. Russell
Arthur W. Bromfield	Charles M. Crawford
Max A. Koffman	R. E. MacLean
Frank M. Exum	Kenneth I. Weld, Jr.
Oscar T. Gillan	Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Warner
Betty McLaughlin, Jr.	Dan R. Branch, Jr.
William H. Thomas	C. H. Hussey
Mrs. Randolph Pirie	Helen Oshier
Georgia B. Maxey	Carol Ransford
Helen C. Hansen	Mrs. R. T. Schmitt
Mrs. Leonard W. Clark, Jr.	Mrs. Paul R. Johnson
Ivan W. Moore	Sam B. Pearce
John D. Fobes	Norine Cone
Mrs. Elizabeth Welch	Louis S. Reed
Mr. and Mrs. Seward K. Richardson	Thesta Pegg Etheridge
Jack Reneau	Judith B. Stephens
G. R. Wynne	C. L. DeVries
Mr. and Mrs. William A. Holt	Viola H. Chambers
Nancy W. Crippen	Mrs. Don L. Williams
Mrs. E. Hall Wilt	E. Chase Burns
C. A. Savant	J. V. Carson
Ronald P. Schmidt	Mrs. Walter H. Tenniga
Romeita S. Lloyd	Harrison Lobdell
J. Hickman	Chas. Huedepohl
Mrs. H. D. Nunnally	Lenora Cox
Leila K. Saunders	Maj. Gen. Robert Blake (Ret.)
Harry Browne	W. E. Kane
H. T. Graham	Darleen Wynne
C. J. Shroeder	Dorothy M. Stevens
Mrs. E. Nance	Virginia Meyer Carson
Mrs. Vera M. Ballif	Calvin G. Zehoray
Royle N. Strom	Heuri de La Chapelle
B. G. Chynoweth	Helen K. Luer
Mrs. Bruce A. Bevan	Beatrice M. Dunnean
Richard N. Howe	Inez M. Elliott
Thomas F. O'Loughlan	John C. Pearce
David R. Beckley	Mrs. Robert F. Sullivan
Mrs. Dorothy Reneau	Viola Hughes
Nona Ritter	Mrs. Joyce M. Kimball
Mrs. Bruce L. Odon	Doris C. Irvin
Mrs. Dorothy Leavey	G. Edward Griffin
Mrs. Frederick B. Richards	Jane Crosby
Mrs. Dorothy Morris	Granville F. Knight, M.D.

In addition, statements were received from people who were not members of the Birch Society, but who had useful information concerning its membership and operation. From all sources, we found that there was little more secrecy about the society than any other private organization; indeed, that since there had been so much publicity about this movement, in papers and magazines of general circulation, that it is now probably less secret than the Elks Club, Moose Club, or other private group that accepts members by vote or invitation and does not open its meetings to the general public.

National Council

The Communist publications and some of the national magazines have listed only a few members of the National Council of the John Birch Society. As the essential character of any organization must be gauged by the character of its members, and since we have a recent list of the council members, it is given herewith:

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts, assistant medical director of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Thomas J. Anderson, Editor and Publisher, *Farm and Ranch*.

T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, United States Government.

Spruille Braden, former Assistant Secretary of State, United States Government.

Col. Lawrence E. Bunker, former personal aide to General Douglas MacArthur.

F. Gano Chance, former president Missouri State Chamber of Commerce.

S. J. Conner, president of the Conroth Company, Chicago.

Ralph E. Davis, president, General Plant Protection Corp., Los Angeles.

Dr. S. M. Draskovich, author and editor.

Rev. Richard Ginder, editor of *The Priest*; Catholic writer.

William J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee; former president

National Association of Manufacturers; former head of the International YMCA.

A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., president of Cherokee Mills, Sevierville, Tennessee.

Fred C. Koch, president, Rock Island Oil & Refining Co., Wichita, Kansas.

Clarence Manion, former Dean of Notre Dame Law School.

Frank E. Masland, Jr., president of C. H. Masland & Son, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

N. Floyd McGowin, president, W. T. Smith Lumber Co., Chapman, Alabama.

W. B. McMillan, president Hussman Refrigerator Co., St. Louis, Missouri.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, professor Classical Languages and Literatures, University of Illinois.

Cola G. Parker, former president of Kimberly-Clark Co., and National Association of Manufacturers; former delegate to International Labor Organization.

M. T. Phelps, former Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona.

Louis Ruthenburg, former president and chairman of the board, Servel, Inc., Evansville, Indiana.

J. Nelson Shepard, president Midwest-Beach Co., Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Robert W. Stoddard, president of Wyman-Gordon Co., Worcester, Massachusetts.

Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone, III, U.S.A.F. (Ret.) who succeeded Gen. Claire Chennault as commander of the 14th Air Force in China.

Paul H. Talbert, president of Paul H. Talbert Co., Beverly Hills, California.

Frank Cullen Brophy, industrialist, Phoenix, Arizona.

Robert D. Love, leader in National Right to Work Committee, Chairman of the Board of YMCA, Wichita, Kansas.

California members of the National Committee of Endorsers are:

Frank P. Adams
Mrs. Gertrude Derby Bale
Andrew Brown
William B. Coberly, Jr.
C. M. Crawford
Matt Cvetic
Mrs. Helen H. Garretson

D. Hanson Grubb
Hon. Edgar W. Hiestand
Max A. Koffman
Doane M. Lowery
Mrs. Doris A. Parks
Ray M. Spalding
L. A. Alesen, M.D.

Major Gen. Robert Blake
 Hon. Kit Clardy
 William W. Cone
 Richard H. Creel, M.D.
 W. R. Fawcett
 Francis P. Graves

J. H. Harris
 Rev. Francis Keane
 D. B. Lewis
 Sister M. Margaret Patricia, Ph.D.
 Hon. Thomas H. Werdell
 Col. A. Vincent Wilson

There are 173 national endorsers, from the following states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and from the District of Columbia.

Retired officers from the armed forces occupy positions of leadership in the society, and, as could be anticipated, are treated with ridicule in the Communist propaganda attacks. So emphatic has been the effort to belittle these men, in fact, that one is moved to observe that if they are all as irrational and unstable as their critics alleged, then our military leadership is in a sad state. Here is a list of the more prominent leaders of the society who also held prominent positions in the armed forces:

Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond
 Maj. Gen. Robert Blake
 Col. A. Vincent Wilson
 Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers
 Rear Admiral Paulus P. Powell
 Vice Admiral T.G.W. Settle
 Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby
 Col. W. Bruce Pirnie
 Lt. Gen. James P. Riseley
 Vice Admiral C. S. Freeman

Commodore Frederick G. Reinicke
 Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee
 Col. L. E. Limpert
 Maj. Gen. W. G. Weaver
 Brig. Gen. T. F. Wessels
 Capt. Stephen Abbott
 Capt. R. W. Orell
 Col. Tom R. Hutton
 Col. Lawrence E. Bunker
 Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone

Caliber of Members

Some of the more irate and immoderate reports on the Birch Society have described its members as schizophrenic, pitiful, irresponsible and crackpot. Others have stated that they were for the most part comprised of retired army officers, old women and wealthy businessmen. Mindful of these allegations, we have tried to ascertain the truth about the sort of person who is attracted to the society. We have done this, not by relying on the declarations of members, but through attending meetings without the knowledge of the society, and by running the background facts concerning those we believe to be average members of the society throughout the state.

We have found the average member to have been concerned about the advances of the world Communist movement and the advances of Communist subversion in this country. The John Birch Society has provided the only organization with a militant program of study and action through which the frustrations of these people can be released. Very few of the members agree with the rash statements of Mr. Welch, but their position is that despite this disagreement, he did conceive the movement, organize it, instill it with life, provide a national me-

dium through which people can actually do something about the menace of communism. The average member is firmly convinced that the real threat is not essentially from abroad, but that since our foreign policies are evolved here, and as they are influenced here, and since our retreat from one European crisis after another has been engineered in Washington, then the problem must be faced in this country.

A situation exists throughout Latin America that becomes more critical each day, the Birchers declare. From a solid base in Cuba Communist agents are being scattered among all the Latin American countries—spreading propaganda against us, softening up the opposition, inciting riots against the United States and its representatives. Jet planes, expert advisers, munitions, arms of all descriptions, and even rocket bases are being rushed to Cuba, the Birchers insist—and all of this desperate situation resulted from bad advice and disastrous decisions made in Washington.

The average member of the society avidly reads reports of all governmental agencies dealing with subversion, studies the books on the approved list on the same subject, reads the literature issued through the society, and is utterly opposed to the United Nations and its subsidiary units such as UNICEF, and UNESCO. These organizations are regarded as no more than convenient centers for the espionage and propaganda actions of the Soviet Union.

As stated earlier, we have found some highly emotional and unstable members—especially in Santa Barbara in the person of Chet Merriam and some of his student following—and to a limited extent in Riverside County. These situations were speedily rectified through the elimination of the members whose actions were incompatible with those of the majority. The meetings attended by our representatives were conducted with restraint and dignity, and the discussions were moderate and objective. We do not agree that massive letter-writing campaigns accomplish much, but everyone has a right to write letters to elected officials, and the Birchers have certainly availed themselves of the privilege by unleashing at least 50 such undertakings that deposit thousands of letters on the target almost overnight.

From some of the letters and affidavits we have received from members of the society, we have selected the following as representative of answers to the charges that have been made against the Birch membership.

(1) "In the past 12 years that I have been able to vote I've felt a definite need to do something more for my country than just going to the polls and casting my vote. We hear the cry from every section of our land 'Write your Congressman,' but, express your views and what happens? Immediately you are labeled a crackpot or a fascist. In my way of thinking the John Birch Society has filled the gap of political indifference. It has made us conscious of our duties as Americans and informs us of what we can do to safeguard our precious heritage.

"Too often the public is quick to condemn an organization that has its best interests at heart, because they are not informed as to its goals and how it plans to accomplish this within the bound-

ary of law and constitutional authority. I can assure you, the John Birch Society is within the law and the Constitution when it requests the members to act on a given subject with protests and demonstrations. The John Birch Society is trying to awaken the American people to the fact that we can't talk peace with the Russians, or trade with the Yugoslavs, or give foreign aid to those who would murder us if given the chance. They are trying to get the people to realize there are hosts of treasonous acts committed against our country every day by those in our most trusted positions in government." (James M. Lea, 23424 Mobile Street, Canoga Park.)

(2) ". . . we meet once monthly to discuss books, lectures, and so on. We review the monthly bulletin and its 10 suggestions. (Anyone is perfectly free to decline to follow any of the suggestions in it.) We often invite friends and show films such as 'Communism on the Map' or the Pepperdine College film. And we write letters and postcards praising such people as the sponsors of the televised anticommunist schools. And of course we try to keep up with current legislation and often write to encourage our legislators. Anything that we do is only what every good citizen should do, but often does not, through either ignorance or apathy." (Mrs. E. Nance, 16820 Sunset Boulevard, Pacific Palisades.)

(3) "As a member of the society of two years' standing, I wish to emphatically state that I am *not* a fascist; I am *not* a subversive character; my membership is a secret from no one—nor is anyone else's that I know of. Also I am *not* one of Mr. Mosk's 'little old ladies in tennis shoes.'

"I am an American citizen who is extremely worried over the encroachment of a tyrannical centralized federal bureaucracy, creeping socialism and ever-increasing communism throughout the world. The John Birch Society is a group dedicated to study of the problems and the *constitutional* methods by which they may be solved. Its main function is educational; to make more and more people aware of the existing situation and thus to make more citizens effective in combating the dangers which threaten our freedom." (Mrs. Vera M. Ballif, 3869 Deervale Drive, Sherman Oaks.)

(4) "About a year ago my wife and I awakened to the fact that we have a responsibility to our children and to our country to become better informed American citizens.

"I was given the opportunity to join the John Birch Society which presented a means of becoming better informed about ways of combating the current threat to our freedom—communism. It was as simple as that—a desire to become better informed and take an active interest in the affairs of my community and my country.

"Then, two months later, after joining, came the blast. All of a sudden my desire to become a good citizen was labeled 'subversive,' 'fascism,' and now 'extremism' and 'super-patriotism,' etc., etc.

"The downright lies and distortions about the society and its members have been vicious, to say the least. Of course, my knowledge of the society is primarily concerned with my own chapter's activities. Without exception, the members of my chapter are people of high moral character. We have a great desire to preserve our constitutional government for ourselves and especially for our children. We have a meeting once or twice a month for educational discussion. Our actions have been letter writing and passing information on to neighbors and friends. We are not regimented or coerced into any action and each individual does what he thinks is best. None of us enter into any activity which will conflict with our moral principles. We invite any person of good will to our meetings. We do not operate in 'secret' nor do we 'spy' on our neighbors." (Mr. and Mrs. Doyle C. Carlson, 10122 Groveside Avenue, Whittier.)

(5) "The John Birch Society is not a political organization. Its members are drawn from the two major parties and independents, and it welcomes all of those, regardless of religion or race, who want to ally themselves with other aroused citizens, to stem further damaging concessions to the Communist world conspiracy on the part of our elected and appointed public officials. The society members are willing to give of their time to fight determinedly against the further spread of the Communist ideology in our schools, churches, social and fraternal organizations. I doubt if you will find a member who will hide behind the Fifth Amendment when the chips are down." (Hubbard S. Russell, Maricopa.)

(6) "Both Mrs. MacLean and myself have been members of the society for approximately two years. Knowing first hand its aims which simply consist of preserving our constitutional form of government and exposing the Communist conspiracy, it has been heart-breaking to see the smear campaign against these fine people which has been done with no basis of fact.

"As a third-generation Californian, my devotion to my country has never changed from my days in school, when I learned to cherish our traditions and our way of life. It is indeed a sad period in our history when people such as ourselves are termed fascist and accused of turning neighbor against neighbors by radical and misinformed elements in the news media." (R. E. MacLean, Los Angeles.)

(7) "We have been members of the John Birch Society since the beginning of last summer and we have never once been asked to do anything that would in any way jeopardize [sic] our country.

"We are the parents of six small children. My husband is employed as an engineer with the Los Angeles City Fire Department. For some time, we have been growing more and more concerned with the way in which our nation seemed to be heading and as to what kind of a future our children might expect.

"When the John Birch Society was presented to us, we knew at once that this was what we had been looking for. The people we have met through John Birch are the finest one could hope to

meet. As to the charges that they are of the lunatic fringe, then I believe our country could use more lunatics." (Mr. and Mrs. Joseph L. Warner, San Gabriel.)

(8) "I am not a 'joiner' but I have never for one moment regretted being associated with this fine group of dedicated patriots who understand and respect our great American traditions and principles. I have not found one bully, coward, rabble-rouser, hate monger, dictator or mentally ill among them. But if there is such a membership as these, I believe they should be exposed. If not, the name should be cleared." (Thesta Etheridge, Los Angeles.)

(9) "Several years ago I became a member of the John Birch Society . . . because I saw in it the first opinion group to come to my attention which possessed potentialities for organizing the scattered voices of conservatism into an effective influence on the political environment of our country. In the ensuing years I have not always agreed with some details of its program; neither Mr. Welch nor the members of the council expect the membership to. But since joining the society I have seen nothing to change my original opinion regarding its potentialities nor to cause me to believe that it stands for anything other than the achievement of constitutional objectives by legal, constitutional means.

"The fringes of Asia were still salvageable until Panmunjom. Now their loss to the Reds seems only a matter of time. Is it any wonder, then, that a deeply sincere gentleman like Mr. Welch, imbued with a great spirit of dedicated patriotism, viewing the relentless forward movement of the Iron Curtain as it pushes back our marshmallow drapery to a point where we are becoming enmeshed in the tumbling folds of its bland, bipartisan, sticky sweetness-and-light, is moved to an occasional extravagance?

"In closing it is only appropriate to state that I have found the members of the John Birch Society with whom I have been associated to be a splendid body of representative Americans, deeply interested in the maintenance of our free institutions, the modern American concept of the capitalist system and in the concomitant solvency of the nation's economic system. It is about as subversive as the National Geographic Society or as 'a group of little old women in tennis shoes,' as our distinguished State Attorney General is reputed to have described the society's membership." (Major General Robert Blake, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired; San Francisco.)

(10) "First of all, I must admit Robert Welch in a few of his controversial comments did not use the prudence and judgment a man in his position should have exercised. However, as I understand it, his unfortunate comment about Mr. Eisenhower with which I, and I am sure 99 percent of our membership disagree, was not a public utterance and represented a violation of confidence that never should have seen the light of day. Unfortunately, it provided a timely weapon for an exploitation, magnified beyond all justification—in view of the actual facts and true philosophy and purposes of the society.

"In all my experience at the monthly meetings and in my association with its members, I have never seen or heard anything that would remotely justify the accusations of our critics. At no time . . . have I noted the slightest suggestion of pressure or coercion on the part of those charged with the handling of our activities. We have all worked under conditions of greatest latitude and complete freedom to accept or reject any suggestion offered. And toward this end—the full and free exercise of conscience—we have many times been so admonished.

"All this talk about fascists, extremists, superpatriots, haters, etc., is utterly ridiculous. The lengths to which some members of the press have gone to discredit the society is best illustrated in referring to John Birch Chapters as 'cells.' One need not search very far, however, to understand the purpose, the self-interest, of such a smear campaign that has all the earmarks of the anti-anti-communist line—unfortunately all made possible thanks to Robert Welch's mistake." (Henri de La Chapelle, Los Angeles.)

(11) "Contrary to popular belief, this is not an organization of 'rich old women in tennis shoes,' nor are our members a part of the 'lunatic fringe' of society.

"The John Birch Society is made up of conscientious, patriotic Americans who recognize and accept their responsibilities as citizens. Many of us are in the process of raising families and we are doing what we can, as responsible citizens, to save for our children the liberties that we were fortunate enough to have inherited." (Mrs. Fred Cox, Jr., Whittier.)

(12) "I joined the John Birch Society just 10 months ago and my respect for it and its members has steadily grown.

"I shall be forever grateful to it for awakening me from my apathy, my bridge games, and my TV set. It has stimulated in me a thirst for more knowledge of my God and my country. But above all, it has awakened me, through education and much reading, to the clear and present danger which communism presents to my country and my children's future." (Mrs. Don L. Williams, San Gabriel.)

We have included these statements because they reflect the attitude of the average member of the society toward the allegations that have been widely circulated in the press and by other media of mass communications. As of the date this report is being submitted to the Senate, we have received many statements that we took from sources outside the John Birch Society, and 191 unsolicited letters and formal statements from both members and nonmembers. Naturally, these unsolicited communications are much like those presented above, and we hardly would expect present members to make derogatory statements about the society. Our own conclusions, drawn from a consideration of all sources of information, will be presented later.

The Birch actions to throttle Communist activities provoked immediate reaction, and on December 5, 1960, through the Manifesto of 81 Communist Parties, and again through the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, the anti-Communist movement in the United States was specifically and unmistakably pointed out as the most important target against which to concentrate communist strength. On July 29, 1960, Moscow declared:

"The chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-Communism. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress. Anti-Communism is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology." ("The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program," Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1961, p. 33.)

The December 1960 manifesto stated:

"To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-Communism—that poisoned weapon which the *bourgeoisie* uses to fence off the masses from socialism." (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

In January 1961 the *Manifesto* of the 81 Communist Parties was printed in the official publication of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. So far as the American communists were concerned, this was an order—plain and incontrovertible. It was not lightly printed. It was an implementation of orders from the highest source of the world Communist movement, and it was therefore imperative that the party here do everything in its power to render the Birch Society, the anti-Communist schools, and all of the other rising anti-Communist organizations ineffective. It is, as we have stated, also true that some of Mr. Welch's utterances have provided welcome ammunition not only for the Communists, but also for left groups and prominent spokesmen for the conservative right.

Position of the Communist Party

On July 16, 1961, Gus Hall, head of the American Communist Party, issued a directive for an attack on the anti-Communist forces throughout the country. Published in the *Weekly Worker*, and repeated in all the Communist-controlled propaganda sources, this move has never diminished. As we emphasized before, there are assuredly many other critics who are bitterly anti-Communist, but we are here only concerned with the strictly party attitude toward the Birch Society and all other anti-Communist groups. Hall wrote: "In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme right is serious." He ascribed the upsurge of activity against the party to the classic Marxist-Leninist dogma that holds it inevitable for a capitalist regime to become desperate when it becomes weak. Desperation and confusion ensue; its people become divided and there will be divisive groups set against each other as the government frantically strives to preserve itself from collapse. This, according to the Communist theoreticians, gives rise to a "revolutionary situation," which they must be ready to use to their advantage.

There is, however, a much simpler and more common-sense explanation for this tortured and complex Marxian analysis. Capable observers of the obvious rise of conservative and anti-Communist feeling in the nation have attributed it to the fact that people have become angry and impatient because of the tensions at home and Communist advances abroad. Accustomed to regard the United States as a proud, powerful and respected nation, people have seen our officials humiliated before jeering crowds in foreign countries, and have seen the Communist advances throughout the world and the arrogance of the Communists among us. Frustrated and eager to act, many of these people have joined a number of so-called rightwing organizations.

Whatever the reason for this anti-Communist revival, it was natural for Hall to be concerned. For the facts about the Communist Party were being explained to huge masses of people as never before, and the party—harried by governmental agencies and legislative committees; having lost its battle to prevent the Supreme Court from deciding that the party should register its members, and torn by divisive elements within its own ranks, had to react against this new mass threat. Courses about communism were being instituted in schools and colleges across the country. At U.C.L.A. some of the most distinguished and scholarly experts on the subject were assembled to deliver a series of six lectures. This was inaugurated by the university's new chancellor, Dr. Franklin Murphy, formerly a member of the Commission on Government Security in Washington. He also closed the academic portals to Dorothy Healey, who had been scheduled to deliver an address at the university just before the two Supreme Court decisions were announced. As the movement gained impetus, it became increasingly difficult to operate through the same array of party-controlled front organizations, because people were now familiar with this device.

Thus the Marxist-Leninist dogma that proclaims capitalism to be weakening and becoming desperate, perhaps might be applied more aptly to the American Communist Party itself; it may well be the party that is becoming desperate and confused, while the American people are becoming strong in their patriotism, more aware of the subversive activities in the nation, and more determined to thwart them.

Hall was very explicit about what the party must do. He wrote:

"... it requires a common outlook and united front activity in all fields by the left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist. Without the unity of such forces in the ranks of labor, among the Negro people, in the youth movement, and among the fighters for peace and democracy, the promising popular movements now arising will remain disjointed and apart, prey to the mounting attacks of reaction.

"How is such unity to be attained? First, of course, it is necessary to reach a mutually agreed-upon outlook for the immediate period ahead, agreement on tactics and on programs. This requires discussion among all forces of the left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction. Still better, common action should develop around such issues and positions that can immediately be agreed upon, even while broader and long-range discussions proceed.

"One of the obstacles in some parts of the left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or another of the intensified campaign by big business against communism, of renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

"Undoubtedly, the party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the left. While I realize this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the party and for the entire left.

"For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the left who claimed this should think over how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion?

"It seems to me imperative that left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in fraternal discussions, for the united front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

"There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

"It is my hope that all elements and currents of the left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us." (Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party of the United States, *Weekly Worker*, July 16, 1961.)

Now, obviously, one must not fall into the error of lumping all critics of the John Birch Society with this Communist-motivated drive by the old united front techniques which we have often described in previous reports. But neither should we be blind to the unified and massive nature of the movement. The Communists have long employed this highly effective technique, most dramatically during the last war, and on numerous occasions with incredible skill and success. They are adept at selecting a particularly offensive phrase, or a susceptible organization and using it indiscriminately against all anti-Communists.

Gus Hall, one of the most defiant and outspoken leaders the party ever had, also expressed himself on the matter of civil liberties. At a press conference shortly following the announcement of the two Supreme Court decisions requiring Communists to register, the following exchange occurred:

"Q. (By a reporter): Do you believe the Bill of Rights should cover the John Birch Society?"

"A. (By Hall): No, the John Birch Society is out to destroy the Bill of Rights." (Press conference transcript, *Natl. Rev. Bulletin*, July 8, 1961.)

The feature that distinguishes the Birch Society from other anti-Communist groups is its combination of study and direct action. This provides an outlet for the members, who thus can feel that they are participating in a co-ordinated campaign. As Professor Alan F. Westin put it:

"Unlike those right-fundamentalist groups which have energetic leaders but passive memberships, the Birchers are decidedly activist. 'Get to work or learn to talk Russian,' is a slogan Welch recommends to his followers, and they are certainly hard at work." ("Fundamentalism on the Right," *Commentary*, August 1961, pp. 98-99.)

This sort of implementing of study by direct action is what disturbs Gus Hall and his followers. And if they are reading the monthly Birch bulletins they would see the action develop. In March 1960, 96 additional books were added to the list of 97 that had already been recommended to members of the society, and the great majority of them dealt with various aspects of communism. The April *Bulletin* presented a sample letter for members to follow in drafting their messages to Washington opposing the proposed summit meeting between President Eisenhower and Khrushchev; in May members were urged to check books in public libraries, and request anti-Communist items. Some members protested against the savagery of the anti-summit message to the President that Welch proposed: "Dear President Eisenhower—If you go, don't come back!" But Welch responded that critical situations called for drastic measures. In June, 600,000 anti-summit cards were mailed by members of the society. The July *Bulletin* cautioned local chapters not to embark on their own projects as members of the society, without first obtaining the sanction of the national headquarters or of their co-ordinator. During the summer of 1960 and until the end of that year, the *Bulletins* described the attack against the society, stated that the movement was growing at the rate of approximately 2,000 new members per month, asked that letters be sent to Secretary of State Christian Herter protesting against the weak resistance to communism, instructing that the letters be written on stiff paper, and closing the year with a statement in the *Bulletin* for December 1960, that the society was doubling its membership once every four months, and thenceforth could be expected to double once during every six-month period.

During 1961, despite harassment from its critics, and despite the fact that there were some resignations in the face of the mounting press attacks, the society launched its campaign for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren; analyzed the current Communist Party line; urged members to support the motion picture "The Alamo," because its star, John Wayne, had demonstrated his staunch anti-Communist stand, and because it was financed by another anti-Communist, Clinton Murchison; asked that letters of praise be sent to persons and organi-

zations engaged in fighting the spread of communism, and making it clear that the letters should be short and say that no replies were expected; cautioning members that "... if we cannot impeach Earl Warren, I doubt if we can save America." And in the *Bulletin* for June 1961 Welch declared: "This is not because his impeachment is intrinsically quite that vital, although it has immensely significant ramifications. It is because there is no better battleground on which to meet the whole motley crew of misguided idealists, dupes, do-gooders, troublemakers, 'civil rights' phonies, fellow travelers, 'liberal' intellectuals, comsymps, and the actual Communists pulling the strings on which their puppet soldiers dance. If we cannot stop being eternally on the defensive, go on the offensive, and win *on this battleground*, I see little chance of our doing so on any other part of the whole cold war front."

The campaign to impeach Warren continues unabated, through circulation of petitions, repeated instructions in the *Bulletins* and discussions in the local chapters. As the third year of the society's existence drew to a conclusion, there were 35 co-ordinators drawing a total salary of \$8,000 per week, 41 home office employees drawing salaries amounting to another \$3,000 per week, and growth was still doubling about once every five to six months.

The *Bulletin* for January 1961 opposed the creation of a United Nations Peace Force, as suggested by the United States representatives at the UN Sixteenth General Assembly; termed the UN a "Fifth Communist Internationale," and excoriated those who brought about the death of Povl Bang-Jensen, who was forced out of the UN because of his refusal to surrender the names of persons who disclosed facts about Soviet espionage agents in the organization.

Development Since 1962

This report on the John Birch Society was to have been submitted when the Legislature met a year ago, but was postponed because of the illness of Senator John F. Thompson and the death of Senator J. Howard Williams, both valued and experienced members of this subcommittee. It was then decided to bring the investigation up to date and publish it as a section of our regular 1963 report.

Since March 15, 1962, the society has instituted chapters in all states except Alaska and Hawaii. The six western states, California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, and Idaho, have recently been combined to form a district under the supervision of former Congressman John Rousselot, who commenced his new duties on January 1, 1963.

During the last week of February, 1963, H. L. Richardson replaced G. Edward Griffin as California Co-ordinator, the latter assuming charge of the audio-visual department of the society in this State. There are still approximately three hundred chapters in California, although total membership has been increased. Small chapters are frequently combined, large ones split, and new districts are constantly being created.

Nationally the membership has been variously estimated to be from 50 to 60 thousand members. In our opinion the membership will amount to at least 60,000—which includes the so-called "members-at-

large" or "home office members," whose affiliation is strictly confidential. To that extent the membership of this class is, indeed, secret. Based on a trend we have been observing since January, 1961, we may confidently assume that there has been a proportional increase of these "home office members."

As this movement steadily becomes larger it finds itself facing the problems that inevitably beset any organization of national proportions that is sustained on a high degree of emotionalism. As efforts are made to recruit more members, and as more subordinate officers are sent out into the field, there is an increasing probability that among the new members will be a fringe of unstable, chauvinist people who are prone to accept as accurate the most irresponsible charges of Communist activity. This is the sort of person who is quick to accuse an innocent liberal of being a Communist, and of forever damning anyone who was trapped into joining a Communist front group. Some of these members have been making accusations that are impossible to sustain, and as a result have found themselves facing legal actions for libel or slander.

This type of member is, of course, not peculiar to the John Birch Society, and as Birch activities have increased in California so have these irresponsible charges increased—both from Right and Left. The suits against Birchers provoked this response in the Society's Bulletin for September, 1962:

"In the open letter to George Romney, enclosed with this bulletin, we have discussed at some length the theme of the renewed attack on us which was set off nation-wide some three or four months ago. This smear consists of the audacious, foul and typically Communist trick of calling us Communists; and of beguiling their Liberal dupes and allies into doing so for them. Since we have discussed this theme and its variations at some length in that letter, we'll not repeat ourselves here. But the point we do need to make here is that obviously our members do not intend to stand still for this kind of treatment any longer. Right while this part of this bulletin was being written, we received a telephone call informing us that four of our members in the Oyster Bay section of Long Island had brought suits, each for \$100,000 damages, against a Republican town leader, C. Bruce Pearsall, in that area. Their complaint is that Mr. Pearsall had said 'Birch members are just like Communists and subversives'; and that 'said words were known to the defendant to be false and untrue.' The complaint further charges that 'said words were spoken by the defendant, C. Bruce Pearsall, with actual malice toward the plaintiff and members of the John Birch Society.'

At the same time we have learned that some of our members in Connecticut—although we do not yet know who—are planning to bring similar suits against Dr. Albert Burke for some of his statements, in an interview he gave to UPI. Among other things, according to UPI, 'he said the Birchers "think and act like Communists"' and we have rumblings of other suits being considered for the same kind of libelous statements in other parts of the country. Up until now, anyway, we have always discouraged our

members from bringing libel suits. We still and most assuredly do not encourage them, for we feel that *as a general rule* the same energy and time can be put more effectively into our constructive education program. We agree, however, that this present campaign of falsehoods against us is not only unusually vicious, but that such statements as those quoted above can do immense harm, business-wise and in other ways, to thousands of our members. The recovery of compensation for such damages would certainly seem to be justified and in order. We shall no longer spend our time arguing against the bringing of libel suits, therefore, as we have done so often in the past.

In the meantime this headquarters, or the society as a whole, is proceeding to meet these particular attacks along our usual lines, but more aggressively because of their nature and our own increased strength." (*John Birch Society Bulletin*, Sept., 1962, pp. 25-26)

By September, 1961, it was painfully evident to the officers of the society that widespread attacks against it in the press had caused considerable damage. Recruiting dropped off and the overhead increased, because the staff had been enlarged to handle a quickly growing membership that was confidently expected to continue. By March, 1962, expansion began to pick up again, and Welch wrote:

"... we do not want *anybody* to get hurt who is really 'on our side,' as most of our prominent present critics certainly are."

This bulletin also devotes considerable attention to a new organization known as the Committee to Warn of the Arrival of Communist Merchandise on the Local Business Scene, 8124 N.E. Second Avenue, Miami 38, Florida.

"These people have done a tremendous job in ridding their own state of Florida of such merchandise; and an even more important job of preparing and making available a comprehensive manual which will help other patriots throughout the country to accomplish the same results in their respective areas. On studying this manual you will find many aspects of the problem, and of its solution, which you may not have thought of before." (p.8)

In recent months several large downtown stores in Los Angeles discovered that some of their merchandise manufactured in Iron Curtain countries carried cards stating in effect that the merchandise had originated in Communist-controlled areas, and asking patrons not to buy it. In one instance the store instituted a lawsuit which was settled out of court when it was agreed that the employees responsible for surreptitiously placing these printed notices on the merchandise promised to discontinue their efforts. Whether or not this sort of activity was influenced in any way by the September 1962 issue of the *John Birch Society Bulletin*, we are unable to say; it is quite obvious, however, that such action was strictly in accord with the general line of the society in stirring up resistance against the sale of Iron Curtain Merchandise in this country.

Commenting on the slow-down in recruiting new members to the society, Mr. Welch had this to say in the May 1962 issue of the Bulletin on page 19:

"There is a 'delayed reaction' effect to these attacks on us, and hence also to our recovery from them. The all-out attack from 'our confused friends of the Right' reached its crescendo in February. February, as we have already reported to you, was our largest month in new chapters and new members since the Society was founded. The attack did have its effect, however. For during March and well into April our rate of growth declined. And we even had an appreciable number of resignations, although percentage-wise our resignations always make the estimates of our enemies look absurd. Now there are strong indications that May will be an excellent month, and perhaps again our best on record. Also, please note and remember that we kept right on growing, in both strength and numbers, through both March and April. What we are reporting was merely a slowdown in our *rate* of growth. Please note, too, that more and more, as time goes by and the battering waves get worse, all we shall have to do is to stand firm, with sufficient patience, dedication, and courage, for others of like mind and determination to start rallying around us. Already the woods are full of fragmented 'freedom groups' which did not have the organizational structure and strength, nor the clear sense of direction, or the foundation in morality and long-range purpose, to enable them to stand the buffeting of the rising storms. We *have*—as unfortunately our enemies recognize far better than do our friendly critics—because we have built so much more solidly from the very beginning. And because we do not trim our sails for the sake of creating a better 'public image,' nor dilute our purpose for the sake of organizational comfort and prosperity. The key to our small success so far, and our great potential for the future, is that we know where we are going, fully realize how hard is the road, will not swerve from that course, and mean business every step of the way. More and more our recruiting job will be simply to help others to find out the truth about us, through all the smog of falsehood and smears blown over that truth by the Communists whom the Comsymps can beguile, through clever ruses of every variety, to do their dirty work for them."

Mr. Welch then goes on to explain some of the techniques by which new members are attracted to the Society, and in that regard we believe we can best explain the program and operation of the organization by again directly quoting from its official publication:

"As a means to that end we believe that our short new film, a brief introduction to the *John Birch Society*, will be very effective. Our Co-ordinators will make as full use of it as they can—with your help in setting up meetings. Wherever chapters or groups may wish to obtain a print for their own use, such prints are available from the home office at seventy-five dollars each. Our much thinner *Introductory Packets*, which do not contain the Blue Book, are

one dollar each. Our *Introductory Brochures* (with the Draskovich article and *Why Join the John Birch Society?* inserted) are five for one dollar—which is just about exactly the printing cost of this combination.

Our 'Question Cards' and 'Question Sheets' come fifty of each for one dollar (or we'll send them free to any member who can't afford them and simply asks us for a supply). Whether you can afford to distribute any of this material or not, the work which you do in personally telling others the truth about the Society, and thus the contribution of your time and energy for that purpose, is by far the most important and necessary ingredient for our growth."

Since March, 1962, there have been several statements in the monthly bulletins of the society to the effect that the American Communist Party is composed of a relatively insignificant number of confused members, but that the unknown Communists and Communist sympathizers who occupy strategic places in our government far exceed the strength of the Communist party itself, and constitute the real serious danger to our way of life through internal subversion and the handling of our foreign policy.

Thus in the June 1962 issue of the Bulletin Mr. Welch says:

"... The total numerical strength of the poor misguided bums who constitute the CPUSA is not, in our opinion, equal to even the number of strategically placed crypto-Communists in our government alone." (p. 14)

On page eighteen of this issue members of the society are urged to keep up their opposition against the sale of goods manufactured in Communist-dominated countries. The entire section, which starts on page sixteen under the title "Slave Labor Goods," states that the materials are still being imported despite the efforts of Birch Society members and other patriotic groups to stop them, but, the article continues, without these protests the influx would be far greater.

"... every item of such merchandise sold in our country helps to strengthen tyranny of Communist bosses over the suffering workers who made it. Each sale also puts dollars into the hands of Communist dictators who, through the central banks of Europe, can convert these dollars into gold from our dwindling supply, in preparation for whatever trouble in that area the Kremlin may be preparing for the future; and each such sale, by utterly unfair competition, takes jobs away from American labor and needed business from American manufacturers.

Everywhere you come across such merchandise, please continue your patient and friendly but emphatic protests—in person, by telephone, by letter, by petitions—to clerks, store managers, purchasing agents, and presidents of the stores and chains involved. We discovered early that most of these goods are being imported as a result of pressure on these distributors by our state department. And 'state' probably discovered long since that most of the

effective opposition to such imports is being inspired by the John Birch Society. This develops a contest worthy of our mettle, but which we should win decisively because of having the American people overwhelmingly on our side to whatever extent we can get them to realize the truth."

The July *BULLETIN* attacks the Supreme Court's decision banning compulsory prayer by students in the New York City schools, opposes sale of "slave labor goods," advocates the resignation of this government from membership to the United Nations, and advocates a continuation of the number one item on the society's national program: the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the United States Supreme Court.

Political Action

Harry Keaton, former president of the California Young Republicans, predicted in mid-January, 1963, that the John Birch Society would endeavor to assume control of his organization. Characterizing the effort as a "power grab," by means of infiltration and the use of paid staff workers and organizers, Keaton asserted that the John Birch Society had been endeavoring to insinuate itself into the affairs of the Young Republican organization for more than a year but he felt constrained to keep the information to himself until after the general election on November 6 and the special election in the first Congressional District in California, and then decided to make his information public. In a Los Angeles newspaper on January 25, 1963, Keaton claimed that Birch co-ordinators enticed Society members to join Young Republican clubs and county organizations immediately prior to the elections and to pack election meetings and gain control of those groups.

At the Young Republican Convention which was held in Fresno on February 15-17, 1963, the predictions of Mr. Keaton were amply corroborated when Robert Gaston, with the support of the conservative element among the Young Republicans, won election as head of that group with a personal endorsement of the new Birch co-ordinator for the western states, former Congressman Rousselot.

Immediately the displaced officers asserted that this was a move entirely engineered by the John Birch Society, which provoked an immediate denial from Mr. Rousselot who stated that it should be quite obvious that members of the John Birch Society who belonged to either major party had the right to support the candidates of their choice. He denied accusations made by Fred Hall, California Republican Assembly President, to the effect that the society was a fascist-type organization in America, secret in character, and with strong anti-Semitic tendencies. Commenting on Hall's charges, Rousselot responded that:

"We've asked only one-half of one percent of our entire membership to leave who were anti-Semitic or anti-Negro. I know of at least three chapters that were disbanded and reorganized because there had been tendencies toward anti-Semitic discussions. Hall tends to see two Birchers under every bed, and unfortunately wants to blame all the problems of the Republican Party on the Birch Society." (*Los Angeles Times* February 21, 1963)

These angry charges, denials and counter-charges are typical of the type of publicity that has recently attended every major activity of the John Birch Society in California. It seems manifest that as the society continues to grow and become more active this type of publicity concerning it will continue to increase. Considerable space in the monthly bulletins has been recently devoted to emphatic denials that any members of the society are permitted to engage in anonymous telephone call campaigns, and stating that any member who associates himself in any way with the activities of John Rockwell's American Nazi Party will be immediately expelled from the Society.

List of Birch Chapters in Greater Los Angeles Area

When it became known that the House Committee on Un-American Activities intended to come to Los Angeles for the purpose of holding hearings in the spring of 1962, a full-page advertisement was published in the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* on Monday, April 23, 1962, over the names of the chapters of the John Birch Society in Greater Los Angeles. Since these chapters differ somewhat from those that were operating at the time the first portion of this report was compiled, the Committee deems it of interest to publish the names of each of these chapters for the purpose of showing the geographical locations of the John Birch Society units designated by the organization as comprising "Greater Los Angeles."

Westwood Chapter #795	Whittier Chapter 664
Brentwood Chapter 217	Pico-Rivera Chapter 939
Palos Verdes Chapter 846	Whittier Chapter QISP
Santa Monica Chapter 654	Huntington Park Chapter 294
Mar Vista Chapter 927	Norwalk Chapter QABZ
San Pedro Chapter QOTO	Whittier Chapter 490
Long Beach Chapter 121	Monrovia Chapter QCGX
Westwood Chapter QINN	Woodland Hills Chapter 158
Pacific Palisades Chapter 112	Van Nuys Chapter 344
Redondo Beach Chapter 557	Saugus Chapter QCOZ
Brentwood Chapter 671	Sherman Oaks Chapter QNQH
West Covina Chapter QOQD	Burbank Chapter 847
Covina Chapter QHKM	Sherman Oaks Chapter QNZF
Hacienda Heights Chapter QUIZ	Reseda Chapter QNOX
Santa Monica Chapter QLXO	Reseda Chapter 507
Redondo Beach Chapter 591	Capistrano Beach Chapter 804
Santa Monica Chapter 416	Anaheim Chapter 766
Brentwood Chapter QOBZ	Anaheim Chapter 21
Rolling Hills Chapter 148	Garden Grove Chapter QJYA
Long Beach Chapter 479	Costa Mesa Chapter 597
Pacific Palisades Chapter 160	Inglewood Chapter 459
Long Beach Chapter 239	Torrance Chapter 88
Pacific Palisades Chapter 928	Manhattan Beach Chapter QHOG
Brentwood Chapter 328	Lawndale Chapter 717
Covina Chapter QEVZ	Manhattan Beach Chapter 491
Glendora Chapter 538	Compton Chapter 543
Covina Chapter 821	Whittier Chapter 195
Lawndale Chapter 889	Long Beach Chapter 624
Covina Chapter 838	Downey Chapter QLPN
Hawthorne Chapter 264	Whittier Chapter 739
Azusa Chapter QLKO	Whittier Chapter 116
Covina Chapter QGLR	El Monte Chapter QFOD
Gardena Chapter 917	Temple City Chapter 556
Downey Chapter 86	Northridge Chapter 943

Burbank Chapter QNZO
 Sherman Oaks Chapter QOWL
 Encino Chapter 767
 Van Nuys Chapter 443
 Encino Chapter 525
 Chatsworth Chapter 210
 Anaheim Chapter QJRG
 Capistrano Beach Chapter QLOB
 Anaheim Chapter 725
 South Laguna Chapter 721
 Costa Mesa Chapter 471
 Newport Chapter 773
 Garden Grove Chapter 450
 Anaheim Chapter 601
 Costa Mesa Chapter 733
 Santa Ana Chapter 777
 Newport Beach Chapter 442
 Santa Ana Chapter QOKA
 Newport Beach Chapter QFOO
 Newport Beach Chapter QFCN
 Santa Ana Chapter QOLZ
 Santa Ana Chapter 191
 Newport Beach Chapter 480
 Santa Ana Chapter 845
 Costa Mesa Chapter 414
 Fullerton Chapter 555
 Altadena Chapter 495
 Altadena Chapter QFRG
 South Pasadena Chapter 132
 Arcadia Chapter 782
 Monterey Park Chapter 871
 South Pasadena Chapter 362
 San Marino Chapter 131
 San Marino Chapter 221
 Arcadia Chapter QOU
 San Marino Chapter 381
 Arcadia Chapter 791
 Eagle Rock Chapter QDRJ
 Glendale Chapter 345
 Garden Grove Chapter 826
 Costa Mesa Chapter 839
 Santa Ana Chapter 377
 Santa Ana Chapter 747
 Los Alamitos Chapter QIWZ
 Santa Ana Chapter QFUN
 Balboa Chapter QBNG
 Corona Del Mar Chapter 900
 Santa Ana Chapter 584
 Orange Chapter 738
 Santa Ana Chapter 235
 Buena Park Chapter QHDR
 Altadena Chapter 207
 South Pasadena Chapter 544
 Monterey Park Chapter 475
 South Pasadena Chapter 735
 San Marino Chapter QATV
 South Pasadena Chapter 632
 Arcadia Chapter 567
 San Marino Chapter 113
 South Pasadena Chapter 307
 Arcadia Chapter 784
 South Pasadena Chapter 436

Arcadia Chapter 964
 Glendale Chapter QOWP
 Pasadena Chapter 66
 Pasadena Chapter 48
 La Canada Chapter 133
 Glendale Chapter 755
 Pasadena Chapter QDMB
 San Gabriel Chapter QITY
 La Canada Chapter 521
 La Canada Chapter 677
 Sun Valley Chapter QGRJ
 North Hollywood Chapter 503
 Woodland Hills Chapter 701
 Northridge Chapter 744
 San Jacinto Chapter QATO
 San Bernardino Chapter QJKV
 Riverside Chapter 929
 Fullerton Chapter 435
 San Bernardino Chapter 679
 Los Angeles Chapter 214
 Playa Del Rey Chapter 240
 Los Angeles Chapter 908
 Los Angeles Chapter 938
 Malibu Chapter QACS
 Los Angeles Chapter 740
 Los Angeles Chapter QNIB
 Palmdale Chapter 930
 Los Angeles Chapter 493
 Los Angeles Chapter QHJT
 Los Angeles Chapter QIDE
 La Crescenta Chapter QELK
 La Canada Chapter 273
 Alhambra Chapter QNOM
 Sunland Chapter 748
 San Gabriel Chapter 6
 La Crescenta Chapter 581
 San Gabriel Chapter 706
 North Hollywood Chapter QKTW
 Northridge Chapter QORM
 Studio City Chapter 731
 North Hollywood Chapter 150
 Ontario Chapter 95
 San Bernardino Chapter QFMI
 Fullerton Chapter 472
 Riverside Chapter 995
 Los Angeles Chapter 135
 Los Angeles Chapter 157
 Los Angeles Chapter 309
 Los Angeles Chapter 149
 Lancaster Chapter 168
 Los Angeles Chapter 898
 Los Angeles Chapter 690
 Los Angeles Chapter 332
 Los Angeles Chapter 946
 Los Angeles Chapter 172
 Los Angeles Chapter 163
 Los Angeles Chapter 89
 Los Angeles Chapter 346
 Los Angeles Chapter 986
 Los Angeles Chapter 174
 Los Angeles Chapter QCGS

This advertisement was headed "Welcome H. C. U. A., (House Committee on Un-American Activities), and stated:

"This duly authorized Committee of the Congress of the United States is charged with the grave responsibility of investigating subversion and un-American elements operating within our borders.

The Communist apparatus in the United States, acting on direct orders from Moscow, has officially proclaimed its intent to discredit and destroy by any means available the H.C.U.A. The Committee has always been a thorn in the sides of the 'Consymp's' for obvious reasons, and their opposition to any inquiry into their conspiratorial activities is quite understandable. The objective of the secret Communists, however, is to beguile innocent and idealistic non-Communists into doing the 'dirty work' for them. They are masters of this sort of thing and have developed the technique to the point of perfection. Using sugar-coated phrases such as 'civil liberties' and 'freedom of association' (and twisting the definitions of these phrases to suit their own purposes), the Comsymps are sometimes able to manipulate the uninformed into mob action against, not only the H.C.U.A., but against local law-enforcement agencies. The Red-induced riot against the H.C.U.A. in San Francisco is ample evidence of what a few well-trained, dedicated Communist agents can do.

Knowing that Marxist-oriented groups here in Los Angeles have been feverishly planning massive and supposedly 'spontaneous' public demonstrations against the H.C.U.A., we are resolved not to stand idly by in the face of such gigantic deception. It is our firm belief that the only way to prevent the Communists from repeating their San Francisco triumph here at our city of Los Angeles is to expose their modus operandi. Exposure, of course, is one thing they cannot stand, and is the very reason why they fanatically are determined to abolish the H.C.U.A.

In the hope, therefore, that the citizens of Los Angeles may become sufficiently aware of the true issues at stake and consequently be able to avoid the carefully-laid traps being set for them by the Communists and their friends, we are pleased to be able to reprint here the major part of 'Communist Target—Youth,' a report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., illustrating Communist strategy and tactics in the rioting which occurred during the H.C.U.A. hearings in San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960."

There then follows a complete reproduction of the article by Mr. Hoover, and at the bottom of the advertisement, which comprised a full page, is the sentence: "The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts."

A few days before the first portion of this section was completed in 1962, an affidavit was submitted by the attorney for the John Birch Society, Mr. Thomas H. Werdel, former member of Congress and a former California Assemblyman. The affidavit is too lengthy and detailed to print, but we have received it as an official exhibit and made it a permanent part of our record.

Conclusions

We find the John Birch Society to be a Right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization. It was conceived, organized, and is dominated by Mr. Robert Welch, who runs the society with the aid of a National Council and Advisory Committee, whose advice he is not, however, bound to follow. The accusations he made in *The Politician* in 1954 are shared by few of his followers, but he has since made other declarations that are as irresponsible and insusceptible of proof.

We have not found the society to be either a secret or a fascist organization, nor have we found the great majority of its members in California to be mentally unstable, crackpots, or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion. As we have stated, there have been instances of imprudent activity and indefensible statements, but such isolated occurrences are not typical of the organization as a whole.

It is evident to us that since few members agree with Mr. Welch on a variety of matters, if he continues to make sensational and insupportable charges he will alienate rank and file loyalty. There is no doubt that such statements have rendered the society vulnerable to much legitimate criticism.

We agree with Prof. Alan Westin, who studied the Birch membership and wrote:

"... the Birch Society has been successful in attracting to it some highly substantial figures in local communities—physicians, stockbrokers, retired military officers, lawyers, business men (particularly small and middle-sized manufacturers in the Midwest and South), and professionals, many of whom have become local chapter leaders and state co-ordinators." (*Commentary*, op. cit., p. 99)

We found no evidence of anti-Semitism by the society, and again can appropriately quote Prof. Westin, whose opinion is especially significant since he expressed it at a plenary session of the national Community Relations Advisory Council at Washington, D.C. on June 22, 1961:

"Until information is available to indicate differently . . . Birch Society is not overtly or silently anti-Semitic in its policies and analysis."

After publishing the Blake series on the Society, the *Los Angeles Times* was deluged with pro- and anti-Birch letters. These moved the editor to consider a question which had bothered him and which has bothered others:

"What really bothers us is the probably justifiable criticism that exists in the minds of many but is manifested by the very few who contact us directly, that concerns the imponderable 'so you don't like Birchers' method, but what better alternative do you offer?'"

We believe that the reason the John Birch Society has attracted so many members is that it simply appeared to them to be the most effective, indeed the only, organization through which they could join

in a national movement to learn the truth about the Communist menace and then take some positive concerted action to prevent its spread.

Our investigation and study was requested by the society, which had been publicly charged with being a secret, fascist, subversive, un-American, anti-Semitic organization. We have not found any of these accusations to be supported by the evidence.

STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On January 16, 1962, Dorothy Healey and Albert J. Lima testified before an Assembly Committee on Constitutional Amendments there were approximately 1,500 Communists in California. It is virtually impossible to verify the accuracy of this testimony, as Mrs. Healey is chairman of the Party's Southern California division, and Mr. Lima is her opposite number in the North.

If we were dealing with some other type of organization, total membership would be easier to gauge. But the Communist Party of the United States, like those of other countries, is quite different from other movements. Created in 1919 out of a split in the Socialist Party, it gathered to itself a multitude of other radical elements and tottered feebly along for several years before picking up speed and becoming the menacing subversive force that is now being understood more widely and accurately by informed Americans.

The Party has always insisted that it took no orders from Moscow and received no subsidies from the U.S.S.R., and, as an example of astounding duplicity, even maintained this blatant lie when the membership books carried by each Communist in this country stated that the organization was the "Communist Party of the United States of America—a Section of the Communist International." And, for those very few who were sufficiently interested to pursue the matter further some twenty years ago, there was ready access to the twenty-one conditions under which all foreign parties were accepted into membership as sections of the Communist International, or Comintern. Those conditions, as our previous reports have explained, were clear and firm in insisting that the directives of the Comintern must be obeyed without question, that each party maintain an underground apparatus, infiltrate strategic civil and military positions, maintain an agitation and propaganda department, and follow the world Communist line as announced by Moscow. The Comintern was actually the board of direction for a monolithic world Communist movement; it was one body composed of subordinate parts, and those parts were the Communist parties of the world, of which the American Party was obviously one.

But although the evidence was available, most of us went about our routine business with little concern for this deadly earnest group of people in our midst, directed from abroad, determined to overthrow our government, and taught that the end justifies the means by which it must be attained: lying, character assassination, murder, stealing—anything to further the destruction of our chosen way of life.

Operating in secrecy, brazenly lying about its activities, the American Communist Party has, since its inception in 1919, been character-

ized by its defiance of our laws, except those it invokes for its own protection. Thus for years the *Western Worker's* masthead proclaimed it to be the organ of the Communist Party of California, but when its name was changed to *People's World* on January 1, 1938, the Party blandly asserted the paper was no longer connected with the Communist movement. The staff was unchanged. It occupied the same offices, used the same mailing lists, and charged the same rates, and published the same propaganda, but was now declared to be simply a liberal paper representing the working masses.

This same bold sort of deception was applied to the Party's educational institutions. These were originally operated as open Communist enterprises called Workers Schools. When Communism became increasingly unpopular, the names of these institutions were changed, and the Party claimed they had become liberal schools for workers. Thus the Workers School in San Francisco became the Tom Mooney Labor School, then the California Labor School. But with each change the administrators, the faculty, the texts, the curricula, and the physical facilities remained unchanged.

The Party has always used the same bold lie technique toward its front organizations, vigorously denying Communist control until it has been thoroughly and incontrovertibly exposed and the front milked dry, and then it is liquidated and a new one is created. The large old fronts, such as International Labor Defense, Civil Rights Congress, and the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, were thus liquidated; but, as we shall see, new ones have replaced them and are currently flourishing in this State.

This record of consistent duplicity includes every Party activity. The propaganda outlets, the Progressive Book Store at 1806 West Seventh Street in Los Angeles, and the International Book Store at 1408 Market Street, San Francisco, are small and unobtrusive. Each carries small quantities of non-Communist items, no anti-Communist items (except in the situation discussed in our 1959 report) and large supplies of Communist materials that not only go to the Party and its fronts, but are adroitly channeled in large quantities to reach non-Communist liberals.

In view of our experience since 1940 with the unreliability of Communist claims, we are not disposed to accept the statements of Mrs. Healey and Mr. Lima concerning the number of Party members in California. We are convinced that there are about ten to fifteen thousand formal members in the United States, most of them in California and New York, the two states where the Party has always been most populous. This figure is arrived at through consideration of the estimates of official intelligence agencies, and our own independent knowledge of the membership trends in this State. We would add about a thousand members to the number given by the two Party leaders, putting the formal membership in California at approximately two thousand.

We say "formal members," because this is only one category of membership. These are the rank and file members, each of whom belongs to a Division, a Section or District, and to a Club. There are also

many members who have no formal Party affiliation, but who nevertheless pay dues or make cash contributions. There is no way to arrive at the number of these "members-at-large," except by pure guess. They are fully amenable to Party discipline, but take elaborate measures to conceal their affiliation. There is, in addition, a large number of sympathizers or "fellow travelers," who are not formally connected with the Party and are not subject to its discipline, but who nonetheless follow the Party line scrupulously, who further the Party cause at every opportunity and whose value to the movement is such that formal affiliation is largely a bookkeeping technicality.

Then, as was explained in our 1959 report, the Party has always followed the condition established by the Comintern and maintained a parallel underground structure, the population of which is manifestly difficult to determine, but which was penetrated by the F.B.I. with great success in the instance described in that report.

Mr. Theodore Draper, in his book *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, p. 25, has described these Comintern ties as follows:

"Although American Communism owed its very existence to Soviet Russia and the Russian revolution, for over a year the immediate influence of Soviet Russia on American Communism was minimal. The instrumentality of this influence, the Comintern, was not fully organized until its Second Congress in the summer of 1920. This congress adopted the Statutes and Twenty-One Points of admission which gave the Comintern its permanently monolithic character; they empowered the Comintern to issue binding 'instructions' and to send its representatives to affiliated parties. A resolution passed at the second convention of the Communist Party of America in 1920 showed how intimately the individual parties, the Comintern, and Soviet Russia were viewed together: 'The Communist Parties of the various countries are the direct representatives of the Communist International, and thus indirectly of the aims and policies of Soviet Russia.'"

Cracks in the Monolith, 1941

Mr. Draper's book is a scholarly and thoroughly documented work. The author was a member of the Communist Party during its formative period and has written another book that is a classic in the field, *The Roots of American Communism*. These and numerous other authoritative texts have stripped away the shallow pretence about the Communist Party in America operating independently of the Soviet Union. But it is also true that there have been profound changes in the world Communist movement since our 1961 report was submitted. It is impossible to understand local phenomena unless one views them against a background of the international Communist line. For Communism is inherently international, and the decisions made in Russia have an immediate effect on the entire far-flung world apparatus.

There have been three major upheavals in the solidarity of the world Communist structure. Each caused a deep split in the American Party, as in all the other parties, and each has provoked widespread disillusionment.

In August, 1939, a treaty of non-aggression and friendship was consummated between Stalin and Hitler. While this pact existed Communists and Nazis were collaborators. The American Party exerted its influence to paralyze our defense effort. Those trade unions that had been successfully infiltrated and which were of vital defense significance, were called out on strike.

John L. Lewis had naively used Communists when he organized the C.I.O. in 1937. He was to learn that one can never do business with the Communists, whose sole aim is to capture control of every organization to which they belong, and to bend it to their subversive purposes. The Party, in accordance with this basic precept, planted its agents firmly throughout the C.I.O. unions with great enthusiasm. The general counsel of the organization, Lee Pressman, was a Communist; and the C.I.O. chief for the entire Pacific Coast during part of this era was Philip M. Connelly, formerly active in directing infiltration of California newspapers, and who is now married to Dorothy Healey, Communist boss of the Party in Southern California.

The Nazi activities in California were carried on largely through an organization known as the Amerikadeutscher Volksbund which sought to consolidate all of the fascist elements in America into one great movement which included the Italian fascist Black Shirts, the Ukrainian Brown Shirts and the German-American Bund members. Units of the Bund were scattered throughout the country and maintained headquarters in every large city. In Los Angeles the meetings were held monthly at the Deutsches Haus at 634 West Fifteenth Street, and attended by several hundred members. According to hearings held by this Committee shortly after the outbreak of World War II, it was learned that the members of the Bund wore a uniform consisting of a white shirt and dark trousers, an overseas-type hat and an arm band bearing the initials "O.D." and with a swastika emblem. Hermann Max Schwinn was the head of the Bund for the Pacific Coast, and usually operated out of the Los Angeles Deutsches Haus. Propaganda was distributed in the form of written material and motion picture films, most of the written propaganda being sold at the Deutsches Haus by Hans Diebel through the Aryan Book Store, and much of the motion picture material and some printed propaganda by F. K. Ferenz who operated a motion picture theater and the Continental Book Store at 2509 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles.

While the Bundsters were co-operating with the Communists to impede our defense effort, and each group was circulating vast quantities of propaganda, they occasionally joined forces in public functions for their common benefit. This, of course, was in strict conformity with the international Communist line that existed during the period of the Non-Aggression Pact. Such an affair was held on May 23, 1941, on Washington Boulevard in Los Angeles under the sponsorship of a Japanese-Communist organization known as Doho Jin Sha, and which was attended by many prominent members of the Bund. Ed Robbin, from the *People's World*, addressed the meeting, which was also attended by undercover counter-subversive agents.

This meeting occurred exactly thirty days before the German army attacked the Soviet Union without warning, violated the Non-Aggression Pact, and thereby produced the first major upheaval in world Communism. The invasion occurred on June 22, 1941, and immediately the party line reversed itself. Thenceforth Communists the world over who had been collaborators of the German Nazis on June 21, 1941, became their implacable enemies on June 22.

Three months after this abrupt change in the party line the Committee held a public hearing in the State Building in Los Angeles, at which both Bund and Communist witnesses were subpoenaed. Among them was F. K. Ferenz, one of the most defiant and hostile witnesses the Committee has examined in its more than twenty years of activity. Ferenz testified quite frankly to the fact that he was the publisher of a book praising Adolph Hitler, that he exhibited Nazi propaganda films, and that he not only attended meetings of the German-American Bund in Los Angeles but was acquainted with all of its officers and leaders. After Ferenz had concluded his testimony he returned to his seat and the Committee had called the next witness when a tall and highly emotional Communist sympathizer seated directly across the aisle from Ferenz, leaned over and tried to jab the lighted end of her cigarette into his left eye. Ferenz jerked his head up and the cigarette struck his cheek. Immediately the hearing broke into pandemonium, and after order had been restored and the interrogation of the witness resumed, Ferenz was observed to lean across the aisle and say something to the woman who had attacked him. She rose to her feet, stood in the middle of the aisle and demanded that Ferenz be ejected. In the meantime he had assumed a strategic position immediately behind her and administered a kick which resulted in another interlude of wholesale pandemonium and ejection of the troublemakers.

This incident, despite its humorous aspects, provides a graphic illustration of the blind fanaticism characteristic of both the German-American Bund and the American Communist Party, members of these two groups having been collaborators from August, 1939, until June 22, 1941, and then because of an event that had occurred thousands of miles away from the United States, became bitter enemies over night.

This first major upheaval in the world Communist movement drove a great many party members out of the organization, not only in the United States but other countries as well, and led to a campaign of intensive recruiting and propaganda in order to offset these losses in personnel.

Second Communist Upheaval, 1956

After the death of Lenin in 1924, Stalin promised two of his colleagues, Zinoviev and Kamenev, that if they would help him undermine Leon Trotsky, the three of them would thenceforth rule the Soviet Union together. After securing their agreement, Stalin proceeded to use them for the purpose of eliminating all political opposition, and after he had solidified that position for himself, disposed of his two cohorts by the simple process of liquidating them.

Stalin was the absolute dictator of the Soviet Union until his death in March, 1953. Under his rule the Soviet Secret Police reached a position of unique power, sent hundreds of thousands of Russians to slave camps, unleashed a series of bloody purges that for sheer terror and ferocity have never been equaled in history, and filled the dungeons of the Lubianka Prison with political victims. Every real or fancied critic of the Stalin regime was ruthlessly eliminated, and all of this occurred without the slightest resort to any semblance of legal process or any trial before a regularly constituted court.

During all of this regime, from 1924 until 1953, Stalin was defied not only throughout the Soviet Union but throughout the entire Communist world. He could do no wrong, his interpretation of Marxism-Leninism was considered infallible, his birthdays were the occasion of great celebration, and his pictures and statues appeared in every public place in the Soviet Union. A story, perhaps ephemeral but nevertheless illustrative, has it that when Stalin was to unveil a large statue erected to the memory of the poet Pushkin, he pulled the cord that dropped the shroud and disclosed a huge figure of Stalin holding a small book of Pushkin's poems in his outstretched hand.

In the light of what we know at the present time, it seems incredible that thousands of members of the Communist Party of the United States could be convinced that all of the criticisms of Stalin that appeared in our newspapers and magazines, and were heard over the air, were simply capitalist distortions of the truth; that the only true evaluation of the leader of world Communism was to be found in Communist literature; and in those publications he was not only a great humanitarian, but the victim of slanderous attacks that accused him of being a monster who murdered every human being who stood in his path to absolute power. For almost thirty years this anomalous situation existed until the second major upheaval in the world Communist movement occurred when Nikita Khrushchev delivered his so-called "secret" speech in February of 1956 to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Hour after hour Khrushchev told the assembled delegates of the misdeeds of the dead Stalin, calling him a tyrant drunk with power, insuring his own position as head of the Soviet regime and leader of the world Communist movement by a reign of terror. Everything the capitalist press had said about Stalin was amply corroborated by Khrushchev, who went even further in heaping scorn and criticism on the man with whom he had closely worked for many years.

The body of Stalin was no longer considered fit to occupy the same tomb with Lenin, and was removed and buried under a plain black marble slab at the foot of the Kremlin wall where thousands of Russians passed it every day without giving it the slightest notice. All over the world, in satellite countries and in Communist party headquarters, the pictures of Stalin came down and were replaced by those of Khrushchev who had driven home the point that capitalist critics were quite correct in their assessment of Stalin's regime, and emphasizing the fact that the Soviet system was such that it could be ruled by a power-drunken monster for almost thirty years, and that the head of the world Communist movement was not necessarily infallible.

Red China was probably the only Communist country in the world where Stalin continued to be deified even after the February, 1956, speech by Khrushchev.

It should be remembered that in 1953 East Germans threw rocks at Soviet tanks as an expression of their disgust with the Communist regime, and in 1956 the revolts in Poland and Hungary demonstrated tragically that the East European satellite nations operating under the Soviet system were by no means a solid, monolithic group. Rumblings of discontent were manifested also in the Soviet Union itself, where university students rebelled and refused to attend classes, and the citizens demanded more freedom from government restraint. The powers of the secret police were accordingly diminished and it was relegated to a secondary position; additional license was accorded to Soviet writers and artists who began to venture timid criticisms of the regime; Soviet newspapers began to print eulogies of Boris Pasternak, and these few relatively insignificant evidences of new freedoms provided a marked contrast to the iron censorship and discipline that prevailed under Stalin.

Large numbers of party members throughout the world, and particularly large numbers in the United States, left the party. We have described in other reports how John Gates, editor in chief of the *Daily Worker*, printed unprecedented criticisms of the Soviet government in general and of the American Communist Party in particular, gathered to himself respectable support, and advocated the dissolution of the American party. Dorothy Healey, in Los Angeles, headed another group of dissidents. Twenty-two members in San Francisco resigned in a body, and the entire Party was shot through with splinter groups and cliques violently arguing with one another about the future direction that should be taken by the Communist Party of the United States. Some of the staunch old Communists had been charter members of the Party in this country. They had stubbornly and blindly insisted that Stalin was the personification of all desirable attributes for the leader of the world Communist movement, had heaped scorn upon the capitalist press for printing so many lies about him, and were now revealed in their naked intellectual bankruptcy for having been so gullible for all those years. Their dream had been rudely punctured by the speech of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress, and it dealt the American Communist Party a blow from which it has never managed to recover. Howard Fast, for years the cultural hero of the American Party, and the author of many of its most potent propaganda books, resigned in disgust and wrote an angry autobiography which he called "The Naked God." It is an anguished book, the confessions of a disillusioned, sensitive man, and it strips bare the cold hypocrisy of the Communist movement and its inherently dishonest character.

Eventually, as has always been the case, those loyal to Moscow prevailed, and the dissident groups were either whipped back into the line of Communist rectitude or expelled from the Party as incurable deviationists.

This was the second great upheaval in the world Communist movement, and it shook the Communist Party of the United States to its very foundation.

Third Communist Upheaval, 1960

In discussing the third major split in global Communist unity one must take into consideration the physical location of Red China, separated from the great land mass of the Soviet Union by Mongolia, which itself is divided into two parts: Inner Mongolia, which lies immediately north of China, and Outer Mongolia, which lies immediately south of Russia. Bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean, on the south and southwest by Burma, Pakistan, India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Iran, the people of this enormously over-populated land mass of Red China have for years been pushing steadily toward the southerly border of the Soviet Union and threatening to spill over into the strategic area of the Trans-Siberian railroad. In order to create a buffer against this incursion, Stalin sent numerous families to settle along the critical border, and technicians into Outer Mongolia to indoctrinate and Communize its inhabitants.

Since it is impossible to adequately understand the third basic upheaval in the world Communist structure without a knowledge of the causes for the rift between these two countries, we presume to briefly set forth a history of that split that has so materially added to the cracks in the Communist monolith.

In 1911 the Kuomintang was established for the purpose of bringing unity to a Chinese nation torn by the ravages of exploiting land barons, each of whom maintained his own little empire and extorted food and money from those under his domination. The Kuomintang was used by Sun Yat-sen as a medium through which he sought to crush the feudal lords and establish a liberal, central government for the entire country. One of his principal aides in this undertaking was his brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek; each of them having married one of the famous Soong sisters.

There was no Communist Party of China until 1921, and a year later it could boast of only two hundred members. By 1925 there were a thousand Chinese Communists, a growth that may be largely attributed to the partnership that Sun Yat-sen agreed to form with the Soviet Union in 1923, and which brought the first delegation of Communist advisors to China. It was headed by Mikhail Borodin, an expert in strategy and infiltration, who brought with him a quintet of extremely talented assistants: Ho Chi Minh, now the head of the Communist Party in Vietnam; Gerhardt Eisler, the last publicly-known Comintern representative to the United States, and who is now in charge of propaganda in East Germany; Earl Browder, then a young leader of the Communist Party of the United States, and Solomon Lozovsky, trade union expert of the Soviet Union whose cousin, George Mink, was a former Philadelphia taxi driver who later became internationally noted for his talent as a Communist liquidator.

In 1923 Chiang Kai-shek was sent to Moscow for study, and devoted himself to an analysis of the long-range Soviet plans for his country. He came to the conclusion that the plans were completely hypocritical, and that while ostensibly the Soviet government was sending its technicians and its money for the purpose of aiding the Chinese Communists

establish their own independent government, actually the intent was to insinuate trusted agents deep into the heart of Kuomintang, occupy its most sensitive positions and to take over by displacing the Chinese when the proper time came.

In 1925 Sun Yat-sen died, and after his place had been assumed by Chiang, the latter jailed the leading Chinese Communist functionaries, who were no more than agents of the Soviet Union, and sent Mikhail Borodin with his quintet of colleagues out of the country. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek formed the national government, and in May of that year Stalin frankly admitted that his strategy had been in accord with a classic Communist formula in taking over power; the sending of "technicians" and money; the insinuation of agents in places of strategic power; a program of indoctrination and recruiting; gradual displacement of native officials, and assumption of complete power supported by armed force. This, of course, completely corroborated the suspicions of Chiang. Immediately after the departure of the Soviet advisors, the Kremlin sent money and aid to Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese Communist party. Mao was an old hand at duplicity, having also come up through the ranks since the formation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, and having been a great favorite of Stalin. In 1949 he defeated the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and assumed control of the government, driving Chiang and his forces to Formosa.

By November, 1949, Mao had consolidated his absolute power in China, and at Stalin's seventieth birthday was accorded the position of honor at his right, a symbolic act that had profound and significant meaning to all who noted it. It must be remembered that Mao Tse-tung was favored by Stalin to organize the forces of Communism throughout the Far East and Middle East; that he was regarded as one of the leading Marxist theoreticians in the world, and was accorded every mark of respect and honor by Stalin from the time Mao assumed power in 1949 until Stalin's death in 1953. There can be no question but that the Communist Party of China was considered second only to that of the Soviet Union by the Stalin regime, and that Mao was deemed second only to Stalin himself as a leader of the world Communist movement.

It must also be borne in mind that during the many years that Mao led his Communist forces against the Kuomintang, he received relatively little aid, either financially or otherwise, from the Soviet Union; indeed, on some occasions the Kremlin counseled against a direct attack on the Kuomintang. Thus, when victory was achieved in the latter part of 1949, Mao could take pride in the fact that while his country was desperately in need of technical assistance from Russia, he was politically independent. The honors that were heaped upon him came after he had conquered the Kuomintang, not before. The Chinese have an enormous sense of national pride, which perhaps stems from a culture that goes back thousands of years, and dependence upon the Soviet Union for material goods, particularly oil, has always rankled the Chinese Communist leaders. But hordes of Russian technicians were sent swarming through China immediately after the victory had been won by Mao, and no less an authority than Chou En-lai has publicly thanked the Russian people for the ten thousand expert technicians that were sent into his country between 1949 and 1959.

Attention was concentrated first on the building of heavy industry in China, the construction of roads for vehicular traffic and railroads for steam trains; mills for the production of critical ores and metals, shipyards, chemical factories, textile mills, food processing plants, and all of the other attributes that had so long been neglected in the struggle to achieve a central government.

It was with some degree of dismay that the Chinese gradually discovered that when some of the machine parts wore out, they could be replaced only by the Soviet Union since they had been prepared with exquisite ingenuity to be slightly different than comparable parts that could be procured anywhere else in the world. This was one of the first indications that the Soviet Union, even during Stalin's time, was suspicious of the eventual power that might be generated in this new Communist Party that lay so close to Russia, and was reluctant to have it become too independent. This tendency was manifested over and over again as Soviet technicians would veto decisions made by their Chinese counterparts, and conducted themselves with an air of superiority and condescension that proved exceedingly irritating to their hosts, who were footing the bill for their food, housing and expenses. Naturally, over the years the debt that mounted against Communist China and in favor of the Kremlin assumed enormous proportions, far beyond the capacity of the debtor to pay. There was, nevertheless, virtually no dissension between the two countries during the first few years of their economic and ideological alliance. Stalin was honored throughout China on every possible occasion, much as he was in his own country, and the Korean War created a unity of interest between Russia and China because of their common interest in preventing the overthrow of the Communist government in North Korea after it had failed to win victory in the south. The manpower came from China, but the Soviet Union provided the arms and the equipment and the threat of active intervention if the war were carried to continental China.

A valuable analysis of the split between China and the Soviet Union may be found from a book, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, documented and analysed by G. F. Hudson, Richard Lowenthal, and Roderick MacFarquhar. Praeger Co., N.Y., 1961.

"The first serious trouble between Moscow and Peking occurred in connection with the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and it was significant that it arose over Khrushchev's attack on the memory of Stalin. It was noticed at the time by some Western observers that the terms of eulogy in which mention of Stalin was made in Mao Tse-tung's message of greetings to the Congress were so contrary to the tenor of Khrushchev's speech to the secret session a few days later as to require the inference that the Chinese leader had either not been informed of what was about to be done or had disagreed with it. It has now been reported that one of the grievances brought by the Chinese in the Conference of the Eighty-one Parties was Khrushchev's failure to consult Peking before deciding on the demolition of the Stalin myth. This was certainly no small matter, for whatever may

have been the expediency of the action in relation to Soviet domestic politics, the discredit cast on the personality which Communists throughout the world have done their utmost to build up in propaganda over two and a half decades was clearly a concern of the whole international movement and not of the Soviet Party alone.

It was the paradox of this extraordinary episode that Khrushchev in demanding that other Communist parties simply fall into line with the decision taken in Moscow to degrade Stalin was invoking precisely that supreme authority over the international movement which Stalin had acquired and which largely depended on his prestige as a most superhuman being. Once the former 'leader of progressive mankind' had been denounced as a tyrant and a fraud, the question was inevitably asked among Communists—and not only in Peking—whence Khrushchev could derive the right to issue instructions to the comrades of all lands.

The Chinese in particular questioned the wisdom of what had been done, but even more they resented the lack of consultation, and this was to be a permanent element in all subsequent party conflicts; it raised the issue of 'polycentrism' in the conditions of the post-Stalin era. In the days when Russia had been the only Communist-governed state and all other Communist parties had lacked any control of state power, it had been natural enough for all non-Russian Communists to look to the Kremlin for a guidance which had been in practice words of command, but now that there were several other Communist parties with the powers and responsibilities of sovereign governments—and one of them ruled over the most populous nation in the world—it was no longer appropriate for a single party to lay down articles of faith and policy for all. The situation demanded some kind of new machinery for inter-party discussion, especially as the former organization of the Comintern no longer existed. But the Soviet leadership was not at all disposed to give up the complete freedom of policy-making to which it had become accustomed, and outside the Soviet Union also there was a widespread recognition among zealous Communists of the need for a sort of international High Command if the Communist states were to maintain an effective coalition against the capitalist enemy." (pp. 1-2)

Mao Tse-tung wrote the classic manual on guerilla warfare, and sent experts to train the Communist forces of Vietnam, Laos, North Korea, Afghanistan, Thailand and Burma in this highly successful type of jungle warfare. And we must not overlook the fact that Red Chinese specialists have also trained Communist forces throughout Latin America according to the principles prescribed in Mao's manual.

In Brazil and Venezuela, where Communist influence is most pronounced, loyalties are divided between Moscow and Peking, while in Cuba the removal of Soviet missiles and troops has caused a wave of sentiment in favor of the Red Chinese and against the Russian forces, and an appreciation of the fact that the Chinese guerilla-type warfare proved highly efficient both during and after the Castro Revolution.

It is important to know that such early leaders of Communist infiltration and subversion in Latin America as Carlos Luis Prestes and Eudocio Ravines were trained according to the principles of warfare that were used to accomplish the Communist victories in China and other Eastern countries. The Red Chinese successes in these areas were enormously impressive throughout Latin America.

In 1958, resentful of having been ignored at the Twentieth Congress when Mao Tse-tung was allowed to praise Stalin without having been warned that Khrushchev was to attack him, deeply offended at being relegated to a subordinate position by the superior attitude of the Kremlin, and embarrassed at loss of face because of economic dependence on Moscow, the Chinese Communist leaders determined to direct all of their resources toward surpassing the USSR in political development. A system of Communes was to be rapidly developed throughout the country; whole phases of Marxian progress were to be skipped; through rigid discipline, sacrifices, and individual effort, the economy was to be advanced, and the Communist achievements in China were accelerated to such an extent in the determination to become independent of Russia that both Khrushchev and Mikoyan made critical remarks about the undertaking in discussions with Americans. In 1959 Khrushchev went so far as to scornfully term Mao's ambitious plan stupid, all of which served to widen the rift that began shortly after the death of Stalin in March, 1953. (*The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, op. cit., p. 5.)

The complete failure of the Commune system in China is now a matter of history, as are the successive years of famine and privation that swept through the country. Chinese leaders were compelled to impose strict disciplinary measures in order to suppress incipient threats of revolution by the masses, and even within his own party the prestige of Mao Tse-tung began to decline. This, then, was the situation when Khrushchev stopped at Peking on his return from the United States, and which is described in *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, as follows:

"The feelings with which Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues greeted Khrushchev at Peking airport on September 30, 1959, can only be guessed at. The Soviet leader was gracing the Chinese Communist regime's tenth Anniversary celebrations with his presence. But he had come to China, as he said in his speech at the airport, 'immediately after my return to Moscow from my visit to the United States of America, literally speaking, by changing from one plane to another.' From the fact that China's anti-American propaganda had not been modified during that trip, Peking's hostility to Khrushchev's diplomacy could be inferred. That night at the tenth anniversary banquet, Khrushchev told his Chinese hosts three things: that he believed Eisenhower wanted to relax East-West tension, that peaceful co-existence had been approved by Lenin, and that strong though the bloc was it must not test the stability of the capitalists system by force. That he felt compelled to make the latter point must be construed as indicating that he felt some members of the bloc felt differently. That Mao

chose neither to make any speeches welcoming Khrushchev nor to comment on his American trip is a negative item whose significance cannot be gauged; but it was surely odd that the leader of the Chinese Revolution should not make any official statements on this important anniversary.

Over the succeeding months, the Chinese were digesting what Khrushchev had told them and deciding, their comment on the international scene makes clear, against falling into line. The inevitable clash between the two views finally occurred at the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Powers in Moscow in February 1960." (*The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, p. 58.)

We have already indicated that the widow of Sun Yat-sen is also the sister-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek. There is a university in Russia called the Sun Yat-sen University, at which carefully selected members of the Communist parties in the eastern countries are trained in political warfare. Madame Sun Yat-sen spends a great deal of her time in the Soviet Union, and is highly regarded as a propagandist for the Red Chinese. Writing under the name of Soong Ching Ling, she desperately attempted to present a picture of solidarity between Red China and the Soviet Union as late as June, 1959. Writing in a Peking paper issued on June 2 of that year, she said:

"The policies which guide the relation between the Soviet Union and China are representative of the new and higher type of contact between states and peoples, which are commensurate with the new era into which man stepped with the appearance of the great Soviet Union and the succession of other socialist countries. The characteristics of these new relations are as follows: complete equality between nations; respect for national sovereignty; mutual confidence, fraternal co-operation and mutual benefit; joint actions based on mutually arrived at decisions derived from common Marxist-Leninist world outlook."

"On every vital issue and problem in international affairs during the past ten years, the Soviet Union and China have maintained a unity of views and advocacy. We have sternly opposed imperialist aggression wherever it appeared. We have remained as the reliable and loyal friends of every Asian, African and Latin American people in their resistance to imperialist encroachment and splitting attempts. We have time and again put forward reasonable proposals to solve every outstanding international question, earnestly seeking negotiations rather than to resort to force, in the face of Western rigidity and antagonism to the ideas of peaceful settlement. We were signatories to the Peace Manifesto drawn up in Moscow by the Communist and Workers Parties in 1957. China was one of the originators, and both the Soviet Union and China agreed to uphold without reservation the Famous Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence and the Ten Principles of Bandung. Both our countries have sought wide trade and cultural interchange between all nations as a means of cultivating mutual understanding and precluding the possibility of war."

"Today our two nations and peoples are stronger and more united than ever before. Our friendship is indestructible. Along with the rest of the socialist world, we are standing in the very forefront of all progress. We strive for the earliest triumph of socialism over capitalism in peaceful competition, knowing that this has the greatest bearing on mankind's destiny, heralding the end of the capitalist system and imperialism, signifying the coming liberation of further hundreds of millions of people throughout the world from the miseries of oppression, war and economic upheaval which have plagued them for centuries on end.

The Chinese people are proud that our liberation has given us this historical role to play alongside of the Soviet people. We pledge our unreserved support to the two great Communist Parties and our two fraternal countries. It is they who are leading nearly nine hundred million people to Socialism and Communism, a new era for peace and progress of the entire world." (*Peking Review*, a weekly magazine of Chinese news and views, June 2, 1959: Vol. II, No. 22.)

But we have already seen, despite the desperate propaganda effort set forth above, that the basic antagonisms between these two Communist countries had been smoldering for years, and that the final breach was rapidly approaching. Both countries naturally endeavored to gloss over their sharpening differences and present a solid aspect to other Communist countries and to the Western nations while striving to heal the breach by negotiation. But while the widow of Sun Yat-sen was proclaiming the unbreakable ties that existed between Peking and Moscow, Khrushchev and Mikoyan were ridiculing the domestic and foreign policies of Mao Tse-tung; and a few months thereafter Mao became enraged at some Russian advisors who presumed to counsel him about the follies of his domestic policies, and sent them back to Russia. In the summer of 1960 Khrushchev retaliated by ordering all of the Soviet technicians and advisors home, and they decamped almost overnight, leaving thousands of indecipherable blueprints and plans, great quantities of uncrated machinery, a vacuum in technical know-how, and a complete stoppage of spare parts that were desperately needed to keep the heavy industry of China in motion. Chinese students were ordered home from the Soviet Union, cultural exchanges ground to a halt, the flow of oil and other hydrocarbon materials from Russia were perceptibly decreased, while demands were made from Moscow for continued payments on the enormous Chinese debt.

Since the summer of 1960 the Sino-Soviet split has deepened. At first the more emotional elements in this country declared the rift to be an elaborate show, staged for the purpose of lulling the West into a false sense of security while the two great Communist nations collaborated behind the scenes. But as the real contributing elements were better understood, the disagreement was disclosed as very real. The great danger, of course, lies in overlooking the fact that whereas the dispute consists mainly in the correct techniques to be used in advancing the cause of world Communism, there is not the slightest disagreement about the unchanging common goal itself: the subversion and liquida-

tion of every non-Communist regime by stealth or by force or both, and the ultimate triumph of Communism throughout the globe.

As the struggle grew, Moscow used Albania as a symbol for Red China, because of the close ties that existed between those countries; and Peking used Yugoslavia as a symbol for the Soviet Union, because that country was regarded as a traitor to Stalin and the strict Marxian line. When Khrushchev heaped scorn upon Albania and Mao responded with derisive remarks about Tito, every Communist Party in the world understood perfectly what each symbol really meant.

The leadership of Mao Tse-tung was challenged for the first time by groups in his own Communist Party that disagreed with his policy of herding the peasants into peoples' Communes and endeavoring by regimentation and harsh discipline to compel them to step up production. This challenge first came into the open in January of 1960, and since that time the Red Chinese propaganda machinery has swung into high gear in an effort to offset the failure of the Commune system, the declining popularity and distrust of Mao, and an attack against those who disagreed with his policies for internal development.

Nevertheless, Mao Tse-tung relinquished his position as head of the state, and was succeeded by Liu Shao-chi, while retaining his position as the titular leader of the Chinese Communist Party. As 1960 drew to an end there was no question about the firm position of Mao as the Party leader, and when the meeting of 81 Communist Parties was convened in Moscow in November and December, 1960, he felt strong enough to have his representatives pointedly attack Khrushchev for bungling the situation created by the revolts in Poland and Hungary in 1956, to which Khrushchev retorted by charging that Mao was endeavoring to imitate Stalin. By March, 1962, Peking was beaming Russian-language radio broadcasts toward the Soviet Union, and Moscow was jamming them as it was jamming similar broadcasts from the Voice of America. Immediately after the Cuban crisis Mao recalled his East European envoys for a conference and shortly thereafter launched the invasion of India. By December, 1962, Moscow had severed diplomatic relations with Albania, had withdrawn its submarine base in that country and pointedly took steps to improve its relations with Yugoslavia. On December 17, 1962, *Pravda* printed a highly critical resolution which had been passed by the Communist Party of France, in which the Peking regime was specifically mentioned for the first time.

This is reminiscent of a similar piece of typical Soviet symbolism which occurred while Browder was still chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. He had held that position for fourteen years, and, as was the annual custom, when he had a birthday in 1945 he was the recipient of congratulatory letters and telegrams from Communist leaders all over the United States, felicitating him on his fourteen years of brilliant Marxian leadership. A few days later there appeared in a Communist newspaper in Paris a blistering attack on Browder by Jacques Duclos. This article was translated and republished in the *Daily Worker* in New York, and thereupon the very same individuals who had a few days previously sent the congratulatory messages to Browder, now turned on him in a snarling pack and called for his immediate expulsion from the American Communist

Party because of his traitorous activities against the cause of world Communism. He was, indeed, expelled and as we have gone into the details of that situation in an earlier report there is no need to repeat them here. It is important, however, to note that the same technique was used in 1962 when the French Communist Party was used for the purpose of attacking the Red Chinese Communist regime by name for the first time.

There then ensued a series of editorials in *Pravda* consisting mainly of resolutions passed by the French, Italian, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian Parties which were all, of course, highly critical of the Red Chinese. Heretofore it had been possible to plaster over the cracks in the relations between these two Communist giants, but now the differences were becoming too heated, and the disenchantments and disagreements of many years were having their cumulative effect.

When a conference of the Communist Party of East Germany was held in January of 1963, the Chinese delegate openly attacked Khrushchev's foreign policy, but was hounded until he was forced to resume his seat. On the following day he was compelled to sit through a roaring ovation for Khrushchev, who had not been present when the Chinese had delivered his address on the previous day. There were 2,500 delegates from 70 Communist Parties present, who jeered as the Chinese delegate slowly rose from his seat and left the hall while the ovation in favor of the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist nations continued.

By February 15, 1963, the situation had become so acute that Khrushchev, in *Pravda* called for a cooling-off period, then a summit meeting between himself and Mao, and then possibly the meeting of all of the Communist Parties which Mao insisted be held immediately. It was quite obvious that any further public airing of the split between the Soviet Union and Peking would lead to an eventual open break and force the Communist parties of other countries to choose sides. Such a situation would be enormously embarrassing to Khrushchev, as Red China had the allegiance of several allies among the Asian Communist Parties, and strong supporters both in Cuba and other Latin American countries who were compelled from a standpoint of practical expediency to pay homage to Moscow, but who secretly favored the more militant type of Communism which was being advocated by the Red Chinese. By the end of February, 1963, both Peking and Moscow had published each other's critical statements, but also there were high-level diplomatic conferences between representatives from each country. Despite these efforts to patch up the situation, Mao accused Khrushchev of tearing up hundreds of trade agreements in which the Soviet Union had promised economic help to China, and of putting on an economic squeeze for the purpose of bringing Red China to her knees. This 7,000-word editorial in the *Peking People's Daily* of February 27, 1963, was entitled "A Reply to Comrade Thorez and Other Comrades," and was obviously a retort to the critical resolution of the Communist Party of France that had appeared earlier in *Pravda*, and the resolution passed by other Communist parties along the same line. It was made crystal clear that Peking would never retreat in its opposition to Tito, in its support of Albania, and its insistence on pursuing its opposition to Khrush-

shehev's peaceful co-existence with the capitalist world. This editorial also mentioned the delivery of Soviet MIGs to India, while in the Chinese Communist magazine, *Red Flag*, Khrushchev was sarcastically referred to as having deluded himself into believing that he was a reincarnation of Lenin, and it termed the Soviet leaders cowards who were in full retreat before the threat of capitalist force.

By this time it had become obvious that China, Burma and Malaya were solidly lined up against the Soviet Union; that all of the East European satellites were solidly lined up in favor of the Soviet Union; that seventeen of the delegates to the Bulgarian Party Congress in November, 1962, were critical of China, but also disapproved Khrushchev's retreat in removing Soviet nuclear missiles from Cuba, and twenty-two of the speakers at that delegation openly supported his Cuban position. This conference was a scene of confusion and division that has been gradually spreading itself to every Communist Party in the world. Particularly noticeable are its effects on the Communist Parties of Brazil and Venezuela, while the continued presence in Cuba of large numbers of Russians, both civilian technicians and members of the armed forces, has provoked widespread resentment on the part of the natives of that country, and disillusionment with the Soviet Union for having backed down when faced with the embargo and the ultimatum of the United States calling for the removal of the missiles and the larger part of the Soviet personnel.

On March 7, 1963, the Communist Party of China publicly denounced the Communist Party of the United States for aligning itself with Khrushchev and at the same time Peking refused permission for a Soviet transport airliner to fly over Red Chinese territory inaugurating an air route from Moscow to New Delhi, India.

Splits in the Communist Party of the United States

We have thus endeavored to trace the three major upheavals in the Communist world, simply for the purpose of providing a necessary historical and political background against which we can view intelligently the effect of these occurrences on the American Communist Party. The shattering of the Pact of Non-Aggression with Nazi Germany on June 22, 1941, produced a complete reversal of the international Communist line that brought deep disillusionment to scores of Party members in this country. It was nothing, however, compared to the denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, 1956. The effect of that second upheaval in the world Communist movement was relatively easy to assess in the United States, because it provoked angry and emphatic outbursts by large groups of Party members, including leaders of the caliber of Howard Fast, Dorothy Healey, John Gates, and their followers. It paved the way for mass desertions from the Party, and the expulsion of all who refused to go along with the hard Moscow line. It proved exceedingly difficult, in many cases impossible, for old members of the American Communist Party who had stuck to it through thick and thin, who had given up their normal way of life and subordinated everything to the cause of the Party, who had contributed their money, their time, surrendered their individual initiative, blindly

followed the directives of the Communist apparatus, and worshipped Stalin as the leader of world Communism for so many years, to overnight reverse themselves and regard him as a traitor to the Communist cause. The removal of his body from the Lenin tomb and its burial in an inconspicuous place, and the refusal to pay any heed to the tenth anniversary of his death on March 5, 1963, had an enormous effect upon these old members whose opinions had solidified with age according to the doctrines they had been taught by the Party for so many years.

It is somewhat more difficult to accurately assess the effect of the upheaval of 1960 between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, because it is still in progress and no one is able to accurately predict whether or not it will intensify or whether the two great Communist States will effect a reconciliation and collaborate in the pursuit of the World Communist Revolution. One thing emerges as indisputable, however, and that is the impossibility of ever completely healing the rupture. This fact is implicit in the characteristics of the Chinese as opposed to those of the Russians. It is inherent in the political independence of the Chinese Communist Party from its very inception, and the resentment of the Chinese people at having to depend on the Soviet Union for their economic life. The personal animosities between Mao Tse-tung and Khrushchev will continue after both have left the scene, and the physical positions of the two countries, abutting each other with the enormous masses of Red Chinese pushing steadily towards the borders of the Soviet Union, make for a situation that is one of natural conflict.

Just as long as this conflict continues, the controversy will continue to affect all of the Communist parties of the world, including the Communist Party of the United States, which has always accepted its directions from the Soviet Union.

Legal Problems

Shortly after our 1961 report was published, the United States added to the troubles that beset the American Communist Party by deciding two cases of monumental importance. These decisions, announced by the Court on June 5, 1961, were separate cases decided by a majority of five to four. The dissenters were Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan. The first of these decisions held that the Subversive Activities Control Board was constitutionally entitled to order the Communist Party to register as a "Communist Action Group" pursuant to the requirements of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Justice Felix Frankfurter, former Dean of Harvard Law School, wrote the majority opinion and pointed out that Congress had, by a long and detailed investigation on its own behalf, established that the USSR had planted Communist parties and movements in other countries for the purpose of bringing about the "... overthrow of existing governments by force if need be and to establish totalitarian dictatorships subservient to that foreign government." The enactment by Congress of the Subversive Activities Control Act was to prevent the world Communist conspiracy from accomplishing that objective in this country, held Frankfurter. He was joined in this opinion by Justices Tom C. Clark, John Marshall Harlan, Charles E. Whittaker and Potter Stewart.

The other decision, which actually consisted of two test cases arising under the membership clause of the Smith Act, affirmed one conviction but reversed the other for insufficient proof. Justice Harlan wrote the decisions in these cases, which held in effect that active Communist Party membership of itself was a Federal crime if the member was aware of the Party's subversive goals. Under the Smith Act, which was passed in 1940, the government had prosecuted Party leaders mainly on charges that they were conspiring to advocate the unlawful overthrow of the government of the United States, these decisions promulgated in June of 1961 held that mere active membership with knowledge of the illegal purposes of the Party constituted an offense. These were also five to four split decisions by the nation's highest court, the division being precisely the same as it had been in the case written by Justice Frankfurter.

These two blows at the Communist Party of the United States were received with mixed emotions by newspapers throughout the country, the division being particularly exemplified in San Francisco where the San Francisco *Examiner* editorialized enthusiastically in favor of the majority opinions, while the San Francisco *Chronicle* had some doubts. These two editorial comments are so illustrative of the divided opinion between conservatives and liberals in the State that we deem them worthy of quoting. The San Francisco *Examiner* for June 8, 1961, editorialized as follows:

"At long last the Supreme Court has given our government two powerful legal weapons to neutralize the danger that is always inherent in internal organizations of international Communism.

One decision sustained a section of the Internal Security Act requiring 'Communist-action' groups (including of course the Communist Party) to register. They would be compelled to list officers and members, account for the source of funds and where they were spent.

The second upheld constitutionality of a clause of the Smith Act that makes it a crime to be a member of an organization advocating violent overthrow of the government.

It is safe to predict that bleeding hearts will see in the decisions an infringement of individual freedoms, and will align themselves with the dissents of Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan.

There are several valid answers. The justice department has placed two limitations on the Smith Act clause; to be liable to prosecution a member of a Communist organization must be (a) 'active' and (b) have a 'specific intent to bring about violent overthrow.' And the burden of proof is always on the government.

The irrefutable rebuttal is in the words of the majority opinion of Justice Frankfurter: 'Congress has found that there exists a world Communist movement, foreign-controlled, whose purpose it is by whatever means necessary to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world . . . Congress has found that in furthering these purposes the foreign government controlling the world Communist movement establishes in various countries action organizations which employ methods of

infiltration and secretive and coercive tactics, and the Communist network exists in the United States . . . it is not for the courts to re-examine the validity of these legislative findings and reject them.'

It took the court something like ten years to recognize, by a bare 5-4 majority, the existence of an international conspiracy.

It is to be hoped that belated recognition means a permanent reversal of the court's previous rulings which have said in effect: let's not be beastly to the Reds."

The San Francisco *Chronicle* for June 11, 1961, editorialized as follows:

"On the surface, there appears to be genuine public approval of the Supreme Court's decisions last Monday upholding the government's right to force Communist-action organizations to register and declaring it a crime to belong to any party advocating violent revolution.

This issue has been awaiting settlement since the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950. The Communist Party has been fighting it, and now, having lost, its General Secretary, Gus Hall, petulantly announced that the Party will not co-operate with the court's order.

Such defiance by the Communists only guarantees and increases the popularity of the court's decision.

We would like to be able to say hurrah for the action of the Supreme Court and more power to the government in making the country secure against Communism; we have little sympathy indeed with the Communists and their plight, except as it affects the freedom and security of us all. But that is the side of the coin which deeply concerns us.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 declares Communist-action and front organizations must register with the Attorney General because they are 'substantially directed' by a foreign government controlling the world Communist movement. Registration requires them to give the names of all members.

The Supreme Court took pains to say it did not even remotely imply approval of such a registration requirement were it directed against the Republican Party, for example, or the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, we feel there is good reason to say that mandatory government registration of any association of citizens in this country is another step toward espousing the methodology of the very Communist system we oppose.

The real danger to America is not from the small body of internal Communist activists (who are no more than three thousand at the recent estimates), but externally from the smooth, smiling Khrushchev in the competitive society he heads. In other words, we put no faith in the now validated Internal Security Act of 1950 to make America more secure."

The Party, of course, did refuse to register, thereby incurring a fine of \$10,000 per day so long as the refusal continued. Members throughout the country, especially the officers of the Party, defiantly declared that they would not register but would fight these decisions every step

of the way. In this connection we wish to point out that the Canadian and Brazilian Communist Parties were legally outlawed in 1943 and 1947, respectively. In each country the Party simply changed its name, continued to operate from previously-prepared underground positions for a short time and then emerged and resumed activities as before.

When the American Communist Party became a section of the Communist International or Comintern, more than forty years ago, it was obliged to agree to Lenin's twenty-one conditions of admission. Condition number three provided that:

"Each member party must maintain a secret underground organization in addition to that portion of the organization which normally conducts public and semi-public activities." (1953 Committee Report, p. 48.)

This requirement that all Communist parties in various countries maintain a parallel apparatus is not merely academic, but is very much a part of each organization's day-to-day existence. Our 1951 report, on pages 175-178, described a training school at Orinda to teach California Communists to operate the Party underground in this State. The same report contained excerpts from instructions in elaborate detail for the establishment for such an underground apparatus. Our 1959 report described how an underground centre in California was unearthed by the F.B.I.

These new Supreme Court decisions will undoubtedly drive American Communists deeper underground and hamper their activities to some degree. We do not believe it will force the Party's liquidation, and we should not relax on the assumption that the fight against internal Communist subversion has now been won. It is impossible to legislate a condition of revolutionary fanaticism out of existence. We should also observe that the *Chronicle's* estimate of three thousand Communists in the United States in 1961 does not even closely coincide with the estimate by responsible government agencies which have had long experience in the counter-subversive field. The modest statements of the chairmen for the northern and southern districts of the California Communist Party put its membership in this state at fifteen hundred, and even if we accept their declarations as accurate (which we do not), this would mean that there were only fifteen hundred more Communists in all of the rest of the states combined—which is simply not the case.

Even before the Supreme Court announced its two momentous decisions on June 5, 1961, there had been unmistakable evidences that the Department of Justice was determined to enforce the anti-Communist laws and to vigorously prosecute the Party. In February, 1961, the Supreme Court denied petitions for rehearing in cases involving the non-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, which prescribed penalties for individuals who gave false information under oath concerning their status as members of labor unions and the Communist Party. Convictions in cases involving this Taft-Hartley Act section had been obtained in the cases of Fred Haug, of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Marie Haug, of the United Electrical Workers; Eric Reinthaler and Samuel Reed, trade union officers; James West, Communist organizer for the State of Illinois; Andrew Remes, Communist Party official, and Hyman Lumer, National Education Secretary

for the Communist Party. Lumer is also Associate Editor of its monthly ideological publication *Political Affairs*, which carries the authentic Communist Party line in the United States, echoes the World Communist Party line from time to time, and from which we will, therefore, quote liberally in connection with the Party's reaction to these decisions by the Supreme Court. Each of the defendants above-named was sentenced to serve eighteen months in a Federal penal institution and to pay a fine of \$2,500.

In May, 1961, *Political Affairs* announced that Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden would soon start serving one-year contempt sentences for refusing to testify concerning their subversive affiliations and activities before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and that Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, two of the most important officials of the Communist Party of the United States, were still in prison serving out their sentences for violation of the Smith Act. In that connection the *Political Affairs* article is of particular interest, in that it sets forth the utter hypocrisy of the Communist movement, and in its anger over the convictions of some of its most important officials drops all pretence concerning the double standard to which it adheres.

"These crucial cases come up for decision at a time when the high court is dominated by a reactionary five to four majority. That is ominous.

. . . The court decisions also show that the majority have been accepting for some time the political bigotry of the McCarthyites when it comes to the definition and evaluation of the content of the Communist program. That is the danger signal. Courts do not stand above their class interests, and concessions made on rights are all too often destroyed when pronouncements are made on program.

. . . And the fact that the Communist rights and program are not given the free opportunity for full debate in the public forum makes it difficult to get a court decision in the public interest."

Then comes this astounding declaration of double-standard application of civil liberties:

"Defense of Democratic liberties always need concrete analysis and application. Any such analysis will show that when civil libertarians defend the rights of Nazis, or of war-mongers, or of anti-Semites, of racists, or anti-Communists, they contribute to the destruction of civil liberty as such. This is the practical result of such a policy. On the other hand, when civil libertarians defend the rights of Communists, of those who fight against white supremacist ideas, of those who advocate peace, of those who call for an end to racist discrimination, of those who defend the rights of labor, then civil liberty is advanced and democracy flourishes.

That is the difference in the civil liberty content between Communists and liberals." ("Civil Liberties and Democracy," by Arnold Johnson. *Political Affairs*, May, 1961, p. 18.)

Bearing in mind that the two major decisions with which this section of the report is primarily concerned were issued on June 5, 1961, it is

interesting to note what the July issue of *Political Affairs* had to say. This statement is entitled "An Open Letter to the American People," by the National Committee, Communist Party of the United States, and the pertinent excerpts therefrom are as follows:

"Immediately after the issuance by the U.S. Supreme Court of its 5-4 decision upholding the membership clause of the Smith Act and the registration clause of the McCarran Act, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States issued this 'Open Letter to the American People' which is printed below in full. The Editor.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is ordered to register as an 'action organization' described in the laws as an agent of a foreign power promoting a conspiracy based on espionage, sabotage, terrorism and other heinous crimes. As such it is required to list publicly its officers and members.

Persons described as 'active' Communists can be jailed on testimony it was their 'intent' to bring about the forcible overthrow of the government.

Under the McCarran Act a body of appointed government officials, The Subversive Activities Control Board, is given the right to decide who may or may not voluntarily associate themselves together in any organization. The Board may decide this, moreover, purely on the basis of legislative 'findings' of guilt in the Act itself. The accused is denied the right to trial.

At the same time these laws make it possible to attach the false designation of 'action organizations' or 'front' to political parties, peace groups, labor unions, Negro organizations and a wide variety of civic bodies. After that, their members are deprived of many rights. They may become subject to criminal prosecution unless they accede to public self-denunciation as traitors to their country or join the Anti-Communist witch hunt.

Failure to comply with the registration order carries the fantastic penalty of a 5-year sentence and a \$10,000 fine *for each day of such failure.*"

* * * * *

"Well, impossible though it may be, *the class enemy* (Committee's italics) has made these things—and a million more infinitely precious things—triable in courts, dependent upon the 'recollections' of embittered and subsidized renegades and government-hired informers, subject to the snippings of and cuttings of political illiterates who comb through books and pamphlets written forty, sixty years ago, in some other land, under other conditions, for this or that purpose—and from these snippings and cuttings fall out, drop by drop, like one's heart blood, the words and phrases that are to make prison cells for men and women—and a whole nation."

"... this legislative finding is not a subject to review by the Subversive Activities Control Board set up under the Act; and Justice Frankfurter in his opinion explicitly found that the Board

was correct in resisting appeals by the plaintiff (the Communist Party) that it review the validity of this 'finding'. Justice Frankfurter further explicitly said that the Supreme Court, in rendering its verdict also felt itself to be barred from examining the accuracy or validity of this 'finding'; that finding had been arrived at by the Legislature and—in Frankfurter's theory of the severely limited roll of the Court relative to the legislative process—was accepted as binding upon the Court and in no way subject to review by that Court.

With that understanding, said Frankfurter, the matter before the Board was only to discover whether or not the Attorney General was correct in declaring that the Communist Party was indeed a 'Communist-action' organization within the meaning of the McCarran Act; if it were so, then the Board was correct in certifying that fact; if the Board did correctly certify that fact, the Court was obliged to order that registration, under the provisions of that Act.

Since the substance of the definition of Communism—i.e., a definition that was in every particular the same as Hitler's—was not a matter of adjudication, in this instance, but was held to be settled, what really remained was for the Supreme Court to uphold the finding by the Board that the Communist Party was a 'Communist-action' group insofar as it 'followed the dictates of the foreign power' (i.e., of the Soviet Union). If this were not found, there was no case; if it were found, then—the nature of Communism is the incarnation of everything evil and treasonous being already placed beyond argument—conviction followed. . ."

In describing itself as an apostle of peace, the opponent of racial discrimination, the upholder of the rights of labor and the exponent of peaceful persuasion rather than force or violence to obtain its ends, this official organ of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, of course, refrains from commenting on its peculiar definition of the "people's wars" which are always supported by the Communist world movement because they either involve the infiltration and eventual take-over of vulnerable governments, or protection of the interests of the Soviet Union, and "imperialist wars," which it always opposes because they are contrary to the interest of the world Communist movement or of the Soviet Union; it does not comment on its fomenting of the most blatant sort of racial discrimination in such situations as the Sleepy Lagoon case in Southern California, and through such front organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, both of which have received our attention in previous reports; it neglects to mention its creation of labor strife by its infiltration and take-over of critical labor unions, and the use of them for the purpose of espionage and strikes; it does not see fit to mention the fact that in the general strike in San Francisco in 1934, violence was rampant; that violence occurred in the North American Aviation Company strike during World War II, and that many former members of the American Communist Party have described their training in the use of street barricades, manipulation of mobs, launch-

ing of riots, and defiance of the police; that the Communists resort to both violence and terror is so solidly established that it hardly needs this passing comment except to the most naive readers.

American Communists have been used for espionage purposes in the interest of the Soviet Union ever since the Communist Party was started in Chicago in 1919, and one has only to read the official records of the convictions in such cases to thoroughly establish the completely treacherous character of American Communism in a long and appalling succession of legally adjudicated cases, many of which were described in our 1959 report.

Petitions for rehearings were denied in the two main Supreme Court decisions on October 9, 1961, and on December 1 of that year the American Communist Party was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury under the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. In January, 1962, a motion was made on behalf of the Party to dismiss this indictment, and the motion was duly rejected. In February, 1962, the Party announced its refusal to comply with the order to register, publishing its decision in the issue of *Political Affairs* for that month, p. 59. This article is of extraordinary interest because it shows the effect on the membership of the American Communist Party of these two important Supreme Court decisions. We have already discussed at length the impact upon the membership of the Party by the three major upheavals that occurred in 1941, 1956, and 1960. Each of these cataclysmic occurrences had a profound effect upon the Party, driving many members from it and forcing the movement to engage in determined propaganda and recruiting campaigns to replenish its thinning ranks. It should be carefully noted here that these two Supreme Court decisions had a similar effect in adding to the disturbance that was besetting many Party members who were losing their confidence in the movement and who had serious misgivings about the world unity of Communism and the leadership of the American Communist Party.

This article was entitled "On Party Unity and the Fight Against Disrupters," (*Political Affairs*, February, 1962, p. 59.)

"Attention must be called to the fact that a small number of these neo-liquidators have now passed over into open disruption and renegacy. In Buffalo, six of these members, after suffering defeat, have resigned from the Party. These elements talked loud about the Party in the past, even slanderously accused the Party of 'Revisionism'. Now when the Party is in the heart of the fight for democracy and peace and is being viciously attacked by reaction, they withdraw from the front of the battle. They thus reveal themselves in their true colors as deserters of the fight for democracy, deserters of the fight for Marxism-Leninism and for the Marxist-Leninist Party. They were repudiated and expelled."

"... after the Supreme Court decision in June . . . this clique supported or conciliated the proposition made by one of its members to dissolve the Party. When repudiated overwhelmingly by the State Committee, it carried its struggle to the ranks of the Party in violation of discipline, and fought not the liquidators,

but the National Committee. That is why the National Committee resolution at the time warned that this group was pursuing an anti-Party course, which is now clearly affirmed. The Communist Party, fulfilling its historic role as vanguard fighters for peace, democracy and socialism, will strengthen its organization, notwithstanding the faint hearts, skeptics, the deserters, the renegades, operating under various guises, forms, and tactics."

This article is referring to two groups of members of the Communist Party of the State of New York, who determined the legal position of the Party was untenable; that it was futile to continue resisting the legal attack by the United States Department of Justice, and advocated a course of action different than that being pursued by the leadership of the Party under the command of Gus Hall, Benjamin J. Davis, and the members of the Party's National Committee. Not only did this group of dissidents defy the leadership of the Party, but it formed its own group and attacked the Party from the outside. In this connection the article from which we quoted above states:

"We do not have here merely a question of disagreement on policy. The Party regards discussion, a change of views, mutual consultation, criticism, and self-criticism indispensable for the Party's growth. *This is a question of flagrant violation of Party decisions and persistent attempts to disrupt and dissolve the Party.* The Party cannot exist if it does not unreservedly fight those who want to destroy it, who do not recognize it, who renounce it. This is self-evident. We therefore warn the membership against this group, notwithstanding its smallness, for at this moment the enemy is eager to make use of every opposition to hurt the Party. It must be relentlessly fought and exposed. While explaining issues and winning over every sincere comrade who may not be clear on the issues, there must be no conciliation, for to conciliate or tolerate disrupters is to help the enemy. This is the only way, particularly at a critical moment, to maintain Party unity and to enable the Party to effectively carry through its work.

The future of this group will not be better than that of other dogmatic sects which split from the Party. The Rosen group is speculating on the stand of the Albanian Party, with which it is in accord. The Albanian Party leaders support the methods and practices of the Stalin cult, play a disruptive role, having departed from the 81-Party position on the question of peaceful co-existence and the non-inevitability of war. But contrary to the lies of the monopolist press that seeks to stimulate division, the world Communist movement is overwhelmingly opposed to the Albanian Party's position. Irrespective of some differences of estimates on the present world situation, here and there, the world Communist movement is solidly united on the basic ideological principle on the 81-Party statement. Its unity is indestructible.

Attention must also be called to another disruptive group, which has been moved into action by government attacks on the Party. This is the group calling itself the American Labor-Negro-Van-

guard Party. It is a group of disrupters who were expelled by the Party several years ago in New Jersey, which thinks it can now fish in troubled waters. This grouplet called a meeting attended by some thirty or forty miscellaneous people, most of whom were Trotskyist followers. It was attended by Farrell Dobbs, the Trotskyist leader, who spoke and encouraged their formation. This group must be exposed and combatted." (p. 64)

On March 15, 1962, Gus Hall, the General Secretary, and Benjamin J. Davis, the National Secretary, were indicted for having refused to register as officers of the Communist Party of the United States, and four days later indictments were issued against Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman, and Philip Bart, Organizing Secretary, who were sued as officers of the Party by the Internal Revenue Service, also with Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis, for neglecting to file a 1951 Income Tax return on behalf of the Communist Party, and also failing to pay the government \$381,544.00 in back taxes.

On May 31, 1962, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy identified ten persons as Communist Party functionaries in an action to force their registration under the Internal Security Act of 1950 as construed by the Frankfurter decision on June 5, 1961. These individuals were: Albert J. Lima, 54, of Oakland, Chairman of the Northern District of the Communist Party of California; Roscoe Q. Proctor, 41, of Berkeley, a member of the District Committee of the Communist Party in Northern California; William L. Patterson, 71, of Brooklyn, New York, Chairman of the New York District of the Communist Party; Betty Gannett Tormey, 55, and William Albertson, 52, both of Brooklyn, New York, and members of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party; Arnold Samuel Johnson, 57, 1952 National Legislative Director for the Party; Louis Weinstock, 59, New York State Committee member; Dorothy Healey, 47, of Los Angeles, Chairman of the Southern District of the Communist Party of California; Burt Gale Nelson, 52, of Seattle, Chairman of the Northwest District of the Communist Party. All of these individuals had been elected to membership on the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States in 1959. Lima and Proctor were described by J. Edgar Hoover as having master-minded the strategy whereby a handful of young Communists, a few adult Communists, and numerous assorted dupes were subjected to such a massive infusion of hate propaganda against the House Committee on Un-American Activities that they were persuaded to engage in the mob action against that Committee in May of 1961 when hearings were held in San Francisco, and which was described in our 1961 report.

On June 20, 1962, President Kennedy signed into law a bill intended by Congress to prevent the Supreme Court from rendering the Smith Act impotent by excluding Communist activity in continuing to organize and recruit new members. In an earlier Smith Act decision the Court had decided that while the Smith Act made it a crime for individuals to have engaged in subversive activities in the past, that it did not cover their *continuing* operations. Congress enacted this law for the purpose of removing any possible tendency on the part of the Supreme Court to interpret the Smith Act in a manner that was not intended when it was originally enacted.

In the face of its mounting legal difficulties the Communist Party lost little time in taking counter-measures. It set about to establish a series of new front organizations, calculated to attract the ever-present contingent of liberals who were to contribute funds, operate mimeograph machines, send out circular letters, circulate petitions, and perform all the other necessary functions for the purpose of protecting this agency of a foreign government so that it could continue its business of subverting our country. In this connection it is again necessary to quote directly from the official Communist publication, *Political Affairs*, which carried an article by James J. Tormey in the August, 1962, issue entitled "Toward Victory Over the McCarran Act":

"The National Assembly for Democratic Rights was a singularly significant mobilization with its more than 1200 participants and support of over 160 prominent sponsors who declared their determination to defend all victims of the McCarran Act, including the Communists, and to work for the defeat of the McCarran Act. The Assembly's success stimulated to greater activity already existing Civil Liberty organizations in many parts of the country. Through the efforts of returning delegates numerous local Civil Liberties committees sprang into action where none had existed before. (Note: the Assembly was held in New York in June, 1962.)

Paralleling this development was the coming into being of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. This organization has done yeoman work in the short year of its existence. It has acted as a national information and service center for dozens of Civil Liberties groups. It has initiated many campaigns later taken up by organizations throughout the country. The mass rally called under its own auspices in New York City on June 7, attracted over 3,000 people of varying political persuasions, and assembled on one platform many representatives of the Left, symbolizing the growing unity of the Left in the struggle for civil liberties and democracy in our country." (p. 5)

Really outstanding work has been done by many local committees, especially in such places as Los Angeles, Cleveland, Chicago and Baltimore, where people of diversified political and social outlooks are being enlisted and fight back."

Among the most revealing, encouraging and inspiring experiences to date have been the mass turn-outs to hear Gus Hall and Ben Davis on college campuses throughout the country." (pp. 6-7)

The Communist Party of the United States was found guilty by a Federal jury in a United States District Court for refusing to register as an agent of the Soviet Union and fined \$120,000, the maximum, on December 17, 1962. The jury deliberated for thirty-five minutes. This, of course, provoked an immediate reaction in the Communist press, and the theoretical organ of the Party, in December, 1962, p. 25, et seq., had this to say:

"... The Supreme Court majority declined in June, 1961, to decide this issue (application of the fifth amendment) as 'pre-mature.' Four Justices (Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan) dis-

sented. They were of the opinion that the registration sections of the Act are invalid on their face because they conflict with the Fifth Amendment."

"But here again one of the Goldberg cartoon twists appears in this vicious law. An officer cannot claim his privilege unless he makes the incriminating admission that he is an officer and thereby waives his privilege in the very act of claiming it."

"In the majority opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice Frankfurter declared: 'It is not for the Court to re-examine the validity of these legislative findings and reject them.' He also stated that the Congressional findings 'are not open to re-examination by the board.'

"... The Communist Party is in this grave predicament. To register and file as 'A Communist Action Organization' one must be such. But as the Party's motion states: 'under the scheme of the Act this element has been decided administratively by the S.A.C.B. in an administrative proceeding and cannot be litigated in the trial of this indictment.'

"... An organization, it is true, cannot be imprisoned. But it can be harassed, persecuted, stripped of its right to function, bankrupted financially, denied the use of halls, deprived of its rights of speech, press, and assemblage, subjected to lengthy and expensive legal proceedings, practically illegalized by this law. At the same time Attorney General Robert Kennedy plainly states that all that is required is to register—a very ordinary procedure. This is a subterfuge. There is no guilt attached to filing an income tax return, or to registering a marriage, a car, or a will, as there is in this registration."

"A committee has recently been organized in London, called 'Committee for Democratic Rights in the U.S.A.' It has just published a pamphlet on the McCarran Act by the distinguished Queen's Counsellor, D. A. Pritt, called 'Liberty in Chains.' It is a brilliant analysis of repressive legislation in the United States. The Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee will make it available to America readers."

And in *Political Affairs* for January, 1963, there was a statement by the National Committee of the Party as follows:

"No evidence was necessary since the verdict of guilty had already been written into the fascist McCarran Act. Communists or other defenders of the Bill of Rights could not take the stand without sacrificing their safeguards under the Fifth Amendment or other provisions of the U.S. Constitution. The jury merely rubber-stamped the ultra-Right definition of the Communist Party written into the Act. The Act is so construed that anyone accused under its vicious terms is automatically denied legal defense.

With this conviction the fight against the McCarran Act enters a new phase. It is no longer a mere question of condemning the Act, as has been done by scores of organizations and leading personalities who placed the Bill of Rights above their anti-Communist views.

It is a question now of preventing the further operation of this evil law, and first of all, of protecting and securing the reversal of the Communist Party conviction. It is a question now of stopping the wheels of pro-fascist reaction, which, starting first on the Communists, grind into the dirt all organizations and individuals who uphold free thought and democratic expression."

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath first invoked the Subversive Activities Control Act when he asked the American Communist Party to register under its provisions on November 28, 1950, and thereby started a bitter legal battle that has been waged for twelve years. All phases of the contest except one were brought to an end when the Party was convicted and fined for failing to register on December 17, 1962. That one and final phase is the appeal from these adverse decisions; an appeal that must be decided by a Supreme Court whose character has changed considerably since Justices Frankfurter and Harlan wrote the momentous 5-4 opinions in June of 1961. Actually, the Court has only decided that the law compelling the Party to register is constitutional, and that membership in the Party is illegal. Actions against individual officers have been brought, and convictions will assuredly be appealed. The principal defense will be the Fifth Amendment. Lawyers for the Party contend that since to be a Communist is a crime, if one is forced to come forward and register as a Party member he is being compelled to testify against himself. The government may reply that the fact of registration cannot be used against the individual in a criminal case. It might, however, be used in other ways, and the Fifth Amendment has already been twisted and widened and construed and re-constructed to such an extent that no one can possibly predict when the limit of its endurance will ultimately be reached.

In 1945 the American Communist Party reached its peak of between 85,000 and 100,000 members. It has been steadily losing members ever since, and the occurrences we have described above: the German invasion and consequent reversal of the Part line on June 22, 1941; the denunciation of Stalin in February, 1956, and the climax of the Sino-Soviet dispute in 1960, all were factors in contributing to the decline of numerical Party strength in this country. There was, moreover, the "normal" fallout of disenchanted Communists who had found the Party simply the conspiratorial, lying, subversive movement that had been described in the non-Communist press: preaching peace while advocating "just wars of liberation"; extolling civil liberties while stifling them within the Party; brazenly supporting a double standard of license for Communists and repressions against others; letting slip a description of our governmental institutions as "the class enemy" in the first issue of *Political Affairs* to be issued after the Frankfurter and Harlan decisions of June, 1961 (*Political Affairs*, July, 1961, p. 6). These were the disenchanted members who soon discovered that the Party was interested in the infiltration and control of key labor unions rather than helping the workers; that the Party leaders were tough and autocratic and sometimes almost psychotic in their fanaticism;

that the movement thrived on hate and hypocrisy and intolerance. Many, indeed most, of these members left the Party but tenaciously clung to their belief in the principles of Marxism. They were convinced that the Communist Party was not the medium through which real peace, genuine civil liberties for all people, and true racial equality could be best achieved.

This realization that the Communist Party was not the liberal and progressive movement that it professed to be, but actually totalitarian and reactionary, has been steadily affecting more of those who were members of the "fellow-traveling" class, who had been hoodwinked into thinking that whatever is good for Communism is good for mankind, and that whoever impeded the advance of the Communist movement was hampering destiny.

There has been, in addition, years of exposure to the public view by official legislative committees the true facts about Communism—its organizations, its front groups, its leadership, its activities and techniques. The FBI, military and naval intelligence, the Air Force's Office of Special Investigations and the CIA are not permitted to make public their information nor to disclose the contents of their files. Legislative committees, on the other hand, exist primarily for the purpose of keeping law-making bodies, both State and Federal, currently informed concerning subversive activities within the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. Contrary to public opinion, and contrary to the view that is constantly being fostered by the Communist propaganda machine, these committees do not measure their effectiveness in terms of the number of anti-subversive measures that are enacted nor on the volume of publicity printed about their activities. Their prime purpose is to provide the legislatures with dependable information concerning the whole problem of domestic subversion, and as their findings are made available to the public more and more people are being rapidly informed concerning the threat of domestic subversion and all of its aspects. For that reason, the Communist Party has launched an intensive campaign to throttle the activities of these committees, and also of the FBI. If such a committee were to operate with absolutely perfect purity, never make a single mistake, and function in a manner that would make it invulnerable to all reasonable reproach, nevertheless the Communist Party would attack it with renewed fury and clamor for its liquidation.

The truth about Communism is now being taught in our schools and, in our opinion, some of the courses are placing far too much emphasis on the academic and theoretical aspects of the movement, and far too little stress about the practical phases of the Party's actions and techniques.

The average American, if asked to express himself about Communism will denounce it strongly. But when asked to define it and explain its anatomy and operation he is unable to do so. He is violently opposing something he doesn't really understand. This situation is rapidly being remedied as more reliable information is made available and more people become interested in ascertaining the true facts for themselves.

Communist Strength in California

There has been a tendency, especially in liberal circles, to regard the thinning ranks of the American Communist Party and to then declare that the threat of internal subversion is over. There is a similar tendency on the part of reactionary circles to attribute every act of the government with which they may disagree to a clever Communist plot, or to some unknown Soviet agents buried deep in the heart of our government. Both of these are false and exceedingly dangerous conclusions, predicated more on an emotional reaction than an acquaintance with the facts. A handful of Communists captured control of the CIO, and we still have some enormously critical unions whose predominantly anti-Communist membership is controlled by a few self-perpetuating officers and a minority of rank and file members. We have explained the amazingly effective procedure whereby this is accomplished in previous reports. We have also described the process whereby a group of radical university students can perpetuate themselves in editorial control of a student paper and convert it from a free and objective student organ into a vehicle for radical propaganda.

Earlier reports have devoted much attention to front organizations, which are used to spread the Party line and to recruit new members; and also to the methods by which a few Communists can create and control such groups and manipulate the non-Communist membership into exerting strenuous efforts on behalf of the Party.

We must realize that a dedicated Communist is sufficiently devoted to his cause to work unceasingly for a meager living; that he will follow orders and subject himself to the most rigid disciplinary control; that he is willing to leave his business, his home and even his family if ordered to do so by a Party directive, or to sink unobtrusively into the underground apparatus.

Communist activists are constantly moving from one state to another, linking their front organizations together and ingratiating themselves with important liberal sympathizers. As we shall later demonstrate, one such organization in California can maintain contact with numerous other fronts, exchanging mailing lists, circulating petitions, and launching a carefully-synchronized drive in several states simultaneously.

Communists operate on the concept that if they can place one of their members, or someone under their influence, in a position of authority, they need not then concern themselves with those under his jurisdiction. They concentrate on the top administrators of universities, deans, and heads of faculty committees on academic freedom, civil liberties and tenure. If a Communist lawyer can re-draft the constitution and by-laws of a labor union and thereby install and retain a set of Communist officers, control of the union is gained and the Communist mission is accomplished by two or three well-trained and dedicated members.

The Communist Party has been active in California since the early twenties. It has maintained its own educational institutions both in San Francisco and in Los Angeles, its own book stores, its own propaganda machinery, and has been actively placing its members in key

positions of our society, concentrating on educational institutions, trade unions, the entertainment field because of its availability as a propaganda medium, and in every department of our State government that has contact with broad masses of the unemployed, with minority groups, the occupants of public housing facilities, and all other segments of our society that afford the prospects of potential recruiting possibilities to the Communist movement. To maintain contact with our governmental institutions on various levels, the Party has operated through such fronts as the State, County and Municipal Workers of America; the United Federal Workers, and the Workers Alliance.

We can understand, in view of the foregoing, that as the Party is faced with resignations, is harassed by government prosecutions, has been subjected to large fines, and has been deserted by many of its less stable elements, it has now become reduced to a hard core of completely fanaticized and determined members who are far more active than ever before.

It should also be observed that many liberals and former Party sympathizers have also been disillusioned and have now begun to see the Communist movement for what it really is. These elements in the United States are comparable to the attitude of Nehru, who for years had stubbornly believed in the goodwill and peaceful intentions of the Chinese Communists. He believed it despite North Korea, and Indo-China, and Laos, and Vietnam and Tibet. And when the Chinese Communists struck at India without warning, Nehru was rudely jolted back into reality and said: "We were getting out of touch with the realities of the modern world. We were living in an atmosphere of our own creation."

And Professor Oscar Handlin, prominent member of the faculty at Harvard University and Director of its Center for the Study of Liberty in America, wrote in *The Atlantic* for March, 1963, p. 4:

" . . . that a government in power for over three decades should still require the use of terror to maintain itself aroused no disturbing questions in the minds of the neutralists of London and Paris."

"The resumption of nuclear activity in 1961 most fully revealed the double standard that excepted the Communists from the criteria by which the West was judged * * * but the general assumption was that if the ban was to be violated it would be by the United States.

The neutralists were unable to recognize the genuine source of danger to peace since 1945. Their past grievances against the white capitalists of the West blinded them to the greater threat from the East. The vision of the idyllic socialism they had learned to respect in London and Paris obscured what Communism had actually become—the militant doctrine of totalitarian regimes with definite expansive urges. Statesmen who refuse to look candidly at the historical forces at work about them were in no position to bring order to a disordered world. One can only hope that as past hatreds abate and past delusions fade, there will still be time to preserve the peace for which all men long."

This myopic attitude toward the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement was not exclusively the view harbored by the neutralists of the world who had learned their propaganda concepts of the movement in London and Paris. It was equally the view of naive neutralists and Communist sympathizers the world over, and this country has always had its share. We are reminded of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization that flourished in Southern California during the war, ostensibly performing services for the government—which it indeed did perform and which included large numbers of anti-Communists, but which was actually controlled at the top by three Party members. When this potent Communist cultural front joined forces with the University of California at Los Angeles in a joint enterprise on the Los Angeles campus, and we obtained positive evidence of the Communist domination of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, a representative of the Committee went to its headquarters for the purpose of interviewing those who were in actual control. One of them, Robert Rossen, joined with his comrades and smiled condescendingly at the very idea that there was any Communist infiltration of the organization. Mr. Rossen has since had the courage and patriotism to appear before a Federal Committee on Un-American Activities to testify under oath that he was a Communist at the time he helped operate the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. Representatives of the Committee had first contacted faculty members of the university in Los Angeles and given them the information concerning the Communist control of this organization, but had no success in convincing them that they were doing business with a Communist Front. We are glad to say that some of these same members of the university have not only awakened to the full realization that their naive attitude was used for the benefit of the Communist movement, but have become thoroughly informed concerning the practical aspects of Communism in this State. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons that although there was considerable Communist activity on the campus of UCLA in earlier years, this branch of the University has been relatively free from subversive activity since 1956.

There can be no doubt that the upheavals described above, together with continuous and relentless exposure of Communist activities, front organizations, propaganda and recruiting techniques by legislative committees, coupled with the publication of a vastly increased literature on the subject have all combined to sharply reduce the size of the Party in this country and at the same time make it increasingly difficult to fill the vacancies with new members.

As an illustration of the ease with which the Party in California attracted members in earlier days, we find that a four-month drive in 1937 netted 1400 new members. San Francisco at that time had 1116 members; Los Angeles 1325; Bakersfield 37, and Monterey 76. From the American Federation of Labor 760 recruits were drawn, there were 206 from the Young Communist League, 406 women, 93 Negroes, 203 Mexican-Americans, and 1115 native-born Americans. The additional members were added after the four-month drive was concluded. (*Party Organizer*, March-April, 1937, p. 23.)

In December, 1951, William Schneiderman testified before the Committee that there were approximately 6,000 Communist Party members who were formally affiliated with the movement in California, and, as we have heretofore explained, the Party reached an all-time high in this State in 1945.

We are mindful that in describing the waning of Party strength, so far as its membership is concerned, and in describing the reasons for the decline in membership, some readers may erroneously conclude that the Party no longer constitutes a serious menace. But, as we have pointed out, the American Communist Party is more than making up in zeal and renewed activity for its lack of numerical strength. This, we are confident, will become abundantly clear when we consider the role being played by the Constitutional Liberties Information Center in Los Angeles, a new front organization which started operations after our last report had been submitted to the Senate.

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES INFORMATION CENTER

The newest and most active Communist front in California is the Constitutional Liberties Information Center, Room 205, 1213 North Highland, Los Angeles 38. The telephone number is HO 4-6262. It has a counterpart in San Francisco known as Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. There are similar organizations in seventeen other states. All of these groups were started as a result of the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961, for the purpose of mobilizing support for the Communist Party. These organizations comprise a well-meshed network, busily circulating petitions, exchanging mailing lists, issuing a steady stream of propaganda, holding meetings, raising funds and attracting the same sort of naive persons who are always drawn to Communist fronts in the childlike belief that American Communists are somehow different from the cold-blooded fanatics in other countries. These masses of fellow travelers and unsophisticates are essential to the Party. They provide the necessary funds, the clusters of familiar names on Party line petitions, and the names of the "progressive" ministers, union leaders, lawyers, doctors, scientists and educators as bait to attract others.

This great mass of so-called "progressives," as the Communist Press terms them, tightly close their eyes to the East German wall, the Secret Political Police, the crushing of civil liberties, the rape of the East European satellites, the use of Soviet armor against the people in Poland and Hungary, the subversion of the Latin American countries, and the basic credo of Communist class-warfare and hate; but their eyes are opened wide in virginal credulity as they swallow the sugar-coated line of the American Communists that if the Party is made to register in this country, it will be a blow to civil liberties in general.

It was logical to anticipate that such a front would appear in California soon after the Supreme Court decisions were announced in 1961. For months the *People's World*, *The Worker*, *National Guardian*, and *Political Affairs* had been stressing the necessity to mount a propaganda offensive against the Supreme Court, which had issued a string of opinions in 1956, 1957 and 1958 that delighted the Party, but had now suddenly taken a course from port to starboard.

With a lack of reliable activists, for the reasons set forth above, it was necessary for the Party to staff these new fronts with trusted and seasoned Communists who had sufficient experience to handle an assignment of such importance. This meant that they were also well-known to counter-subversive agencies. In California it was, therefore, possible to keep abreast of this particular front from its inception, to have its meetings covered, to have agents join the organization, to have others receive its literature and still others to report concerning the receiving of materials in the mail from Constitutional Liberties Information Center (CLIC) although these agents belong to other fronts under cover names. The interchange of front organization mailing lists was thus established.

A study of this new and extremely active front will clearly demonstrate exactly why we must never fall into the fatal error of believing the Communist Party weak and ineffective because its membership has decreased. Here we will find a very few highly-developed Party members who have remained firm in their Communist convictions despite the pressures and disillusionments that have driven thousands of their comrades from the ranks; we find these few in complete command of a big, new front exerting a profound and widespread influence on thousands of non-Communists throughout California, in other states and even in foreign countries. As CLIC was organized and is operated in the classic techniques peculiar to these front groups, and since it has extremely close ties with the other fronts in California and elsewhere, it provides an unusually clear illustration of the procedure whereby a few Communists can function with such deadly precision and effect. In other reports we have described the infiltration of trade unions in California, and since they also illustrate how a very few Communist Party members can infiltrate and capture a large trade union, the statement of Dr. Max Kampelman is pertinent:

"The traditional area of concentration for Communist trade union activity has been the fields of transportation, shipping, fuel, metal trades, and other industries vital to a nation's economy. We shall see that this was the pattern in the United States, as it has been Europe. In France, for example, Communist unions in those industrial areas dominated by the General Confederation of Labor and through that control played a large role in French politics. This role is damaging to the national interests of any society, since the primary loyalty of a Communist is to the Soviet Union. For example, the Communist took to resistance in France during World War II, not when their own country was attacked, but only after Russia was invaded.

The study of this problem, therefore, is one which merits serious attention. This is so, in spite of the fact that the Communists have never been a significant numerical factor in American life or within the unions. The largest number of members which the Communist Party has had in recent years is probably 70,000. Assuming that of this number one-half belong to unions—and that would probably be an exaggeration—they would have had a maximum numerical strength of .0024 of the fifteen million labor union mem-

bers. Yet at the height of this power drive within the CIO, they dominated twelve to fifteen of the forty international CIO unions.

The technique of this Communist domination is not easy to describe. Yet basic to the domination is the application of the Bolshevik principles of minority control.

The basic unit of Communist organization is the same whether in Berlin, Belgrade or Brooklyn. It is the 'cell,' consisting of from three to ten card-holding members of the Communist Party who know each other well and work closely together . . ." ("The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O., a Study in Power Politics," by Max M. Kampelman, Ph.D., Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957, pp. 4-5.)

Such a small group was, and is, in control of CLIC. They had worked with each other for many years in an astounding succession of Communist fronts and propaganda activities and had contacts with important Communists throughout the country. CLIC has been operated to conceal this Party control which, if exposed, would assuredly divest it of many supporters and leave it with only those who thenceforth would be disclosed as conscious abettors of this arm of the Communist subversive apparatus.

Inception of CLIC

The organizing meeting which gave rise to CLIC was held during the later part of July, 1961. There was no mailing address—not even a name. At a private residence a group of people met and discussed the formative procedures that would give rise to the organization. Among the names suggested were Constitutional Rights; Freedom, Liberty; Civil Liberties; and Constitutional Liberties Information Center—all but the last being eventually discarded.

Temporary officers were selected as follows: Acting Executive Secretary, Helen Travis; Acting Chairman, Mort Newman; Chairman, Reuben Borough; Speakers Bureau, Dorothy DeLacy; Hugh DeLacy, Ben Margolis, John T. McTernan, Harriet Buhai, Peter Chaunt, and Dorothy Healey; research and publications, Charles Kramer; Public Relations, Victor Shapiro, Widge Newman, Polly Dobbs, Robert Travis, Dan Bessie, Malcolm Dobbs, John Kykryi, Marjorie Siege, Peter Chaunt, and a representative from another front organization known as Women for Legislative Action. Several of these individuals had appeared as witnesses before this Committee, and we have devoted a section in a previous report to Women for Legislative Action. Those who are interested in running the records further may do so by consulting the cumulative index.

Five persons were selected as a sub-committee to handle open letter circulation. They were: Widge Newman, Clergy; Dorothy Healey, Shevy Healey and Polly Dobbs, Trade Unionists; and Ellenore Abo-witz, International Contacts. Rose Chernin, longtime head of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, and identified as a Communist Party member, was asked to make suitable preparations for meetings and conferences. Secretarial assistance was to be Kogan and Lois Newman.

CLIC's first address was a post office box, number 388, and from that address the organization began to establish its contacts. First on the list was the establishment of relations with the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, another Communist front organization organized according to the same well-known techniques and for the same purposes as CLIC. Its office is located at 22 E. Seventeenth Street, Room 1525, New York 3.

Official recognition of this new front organization was given by the Communist Party through the September 2, 1961, issue of *People's World*:

"Southern Californians! If you regard the U.S. Supreme Court's twin decisions upholding the registration provisions of the McCarran Act and the Smith Act's membership clause as dangerous to the rights of all . . .

If you want to secure the fundamental American Freedoms of speech and association and to avert a new era of fearful conformity . . .

THEN be informed, and inform those you know!

Reuben W. Borough, Chairman, Constitutional Liberties Information Council, P.O. Box 388, Hollywood 28, Calif. (Phone: WE 8-7194)

Send me _____ copies of your Facts for Thinking Americans (\$1.00 per hundred)

Send me _____ copies of the Dissent by Chief Justice Warren and _____ copies of the Dissent by Justice Black (15¢ ea., 10¢ in quantities of ten or more)

Send me (free) _____ copies of your Open Letter requesting the Administration to agree to a Supreme Court rehearing.

Contact me in regard to a speaker (for my organization _____) (at my home)

\$_____ enclosed as a contribution to your work.

Name _____ Phone _____ Address _____"

The unofficial anti-Communist movement also took notice of the new front organization, when the *Citizens United-Press Bulletin*, Number 3, page 4, was published on September 29, 1961. It declared:

"Here is more information about California's new Communist Front, the Constitutional Liberties Information Center. CLIC, headed by Reuben W. Borough, one-time senatorial candidate for the Independent Progressive Party, and leading speaker and petition-signer for the Justice for Rosenbergs Committee, in its Sept. 21, 1961, newsletter lists the following as additional officers in the organization. Vice Chairman—Hugh DeLacy; Secretary—Robert C. Travis, Treasurer—Morton Newman.

Did you know that Hugh DeLacy, former Congressman from the State of Washington, was identified before a session of the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist and, that when questioned concerning Communist activities, Mr. DeLacy pleaded the Fifth Amendment.

That Robert C. Travis was identified before the House Un-American Activities Committee as a member of the Communist Party.

An article in the December 12, 1958, edition of the *Washington Post* indicated that Robert C. Travis and his wife, Helen, were Michigan Communists. Helene Travis, the wife of Robert C. Travis, was identified as an active Communist and as an employee of the *Daily Worker*.

That Horace Morton Newman was identified as an Educational Director of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* on Dec. 2, 1953, stated that a Morton Newman was a Communist active in the Los Angeles Youth Council."

REUBEN W. BOROUGH

Reuben Borough, the Chairman of CLIC, was born in Toledo, Ohio, on May 19, 1883. He attended the University of Michigan during 1902 and 1903, thereafter taught school, was employed as a reporter, and worked as a traveling salesman. After coming to Los Angeles he continued his work as a reporter, became Political Editor of the *Los Angeles Record* during the period from 1918 to 1932, and was thereafter an Associate Editor of the *Los Angeles Municipal League Bulletin*.

Since at least 1934, Mr. Borough has traveled unswervingly through a steady procession of Communist fronts. His associates have included some of the most prominent and active Party functionaries, his closest friends have been members of the Communist Party, and since 1945 his fellow-traveling activities have increased. In 1941 Borough flatly denied any formal Communist affiliation, but in the light of more than thirty years of his front affiliations and activities this becomes a completely academic matter. An entire volume of impressive proportions could be devoted to Mr. Borough's record, but some items should be set forth here to establish the general trend of his activities up to the time he was selected to become the titular head of California's newest and most vigorous Communist front.

In our 1959 report, commencing on page 16 and continuing to and including page 41, we set forth a history of Communist political activities in the late thirties as they affected the conduct of the state government. Reuben Borough was an active participant in all of these activities, many of which were developed when he appeared before us in Los Angeles as a witness in 1941. In 1937 he endorsed Grover Johnson, a Communist Party member, who was a candidate for election to the Los Angeles City Council. During this same year Borough was Vice-Chairman of the Southern District of the California Committee for Political Unity, was a delegate to the State Convention of Labor's non-Partisan League, which was held in San Francisco on December 11 and 12; was Secretary of the Los Angeles Municipal League; was a sponsor for the California Committee of One Hundred for Political Unity, and renewed his subscription to the Communist newspaper which he had taken when it was known as the *Western Worker* and proclaimed itself to be the official organ of the Communist Party of California, and continued after the paper changed its name to the *Daily People's World*.

During 1938 Mr. Borough was elected State President of California Federation for Political Unity which then had its office at 714 Market Street, Room 304, San Francisco. He also sponsored a sixty thousand dollar fund-raising drive for the benefit of the *Daily People's World*; and was appointed to the Public Works Commission by Mayor Fletcher Bowron because of Borough's work as head of the Los Angeles Municipal League, and he soon became Commissioner of Public Works for the City of Los Angeles. In 1940 he was a speaker at a round-table conference of the California Youth Legislature; spoke at a meeting of the Conference for Democratic Action which was held in the Shrine Auditorium at Los Angeles, and continued his subscription to the Communist newspaper.

During 1941 Borough participated in the activities of the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of Minority Rights; acted as chairman of a conference to halt a so-called Blackout of Civil Liberties in California at the Embassy Auditorium; submitted a testimonial in behalf of Leo Gallagher, prominent Los Angeles Communist Attorney and former counsel for International Labor Defense, and again renewed his subscription to the Communist newspaper.

During the period from 1943 to 1945 Borough acted as chairman at a banquet for American Youth for Democracy, which was simply another name for the Young Communist League; resigned as a member of the Los Angeles City Board of Public Works; sponsored another drive to raise funds for the Communist newspaper; endorsed an American Youth for Democracy conference on jobs and youth security, acted as a member of the Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers and sent a telegram to the Glendale Chief of Police protesting police brutality and sympathizing with the strikers. We have described this strike in detail in our 1947 report, which sets forth the incredible spectacle of this picketing operation at Warner Brothers Studio. Senator Burns and other representatives of the Committee at that time went to the scene of the action and watched several thousand pickets marching in defiance of a court order restricting them to a few at each of the entrances to the studio property. There were instances of complete defiance of law and order on the part of the pickets, who overturned police cars, assaulted citizens who were endeavoring to use the public streets in the vicinity of the studio, and were only brought under control when the Sheriff's office finally sent enough uniformed deputies into the area to enforce the order of the court and permit peaceable picketing instead of mob action.

During this period from 1943 to 1947, Mr. Borough also became a member of the Board of Directors of Progressive Citizens of America; became a member of the Board of Directors of the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council; became a sponsor for the Statewide Emergency Legislative Conference; a member of the Emergency Committee on KFI; participated in the activities of the Mobilization for Democracy; again sponsored American Youth for Democracy; became a member of the State Executive Committee of the Independent Progressive Party, and participated in another fund-raising drive for the Communist newspaper.

During 1947 and 1948 Mr. Borough became affiliated with the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Harry Bridges Defense Committee; signed a testimonial to Mike Quin, prominent Communist propagandist; spoke at the Civic Auditorium in Oakland for the purpose of attracting 25,000 additional members to the Independent Progressive Party of California; participated in another meeting of the California Legislative Conference; was named as a delegate to the National Convention of the Independent Progressive Party at Philadelphia; delivered addresses at the Communist school in Los Angeles; resigned as chairman of the California Legislative Conference because he wished to become more active in the Independent Progressive Party political campaign in this State; signed a handbill circulated by the Civil Rights Congress which protested the jailing of ten Communists who defied the Grand Jury in Los Angeles when asked to testify concerning subversive activities and affiliations; became a member of the State Central Committee of the Independent Progressive Party.

In 1949 Borough was a prominent participant at a dinner in Los Angeles given by the Civil Rights Congress for the benefit of John Gates, Communist Party functionary with a record of many years of intense activity, editor-in-chief of the *Daily Worker* of New York, and who was unable to attend the dinner because he had been arrested for violation of the Smith Act and could not get permission to leave the jurisdiction of the New York Federal District Court; and it will be recalled that this is the same John Gates who, after the second Communist upheaval when Khrushchev criticized Stalin in 1956, resigned from the Communist Party and wrote a book of utter disillusionment which, with Howard Fast's "The Naked Communist," has become a classic in its field. Gates' book is entitled "Life of an American Communist." In 1949 Borough was scheduled to travel about the State with Hugh Bryson, then president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in San Francisco, speaking on behalf of the Independent Progressive Party. Bryson was chairman of this political movement in California, and he was also a member of the Communist Party. It may be recalled that Mr. Bryson was recently released from a Federal penitentiary where he had been sent after being convicted for violating the non-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In 1950 Borough headed a caravan of the Independent Progressive Party to Sacramento, and announced he would be candidate for State Treasurer on the IPP Ticket; he sponsored a conference and convention of the Civil Rights Congress held in Los Angeles on April 30, 1950; attended a mass rally for the benefit of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt, who were being prosecuted in a Federal court in Los Angeles; spoke at a meeting called by the Independent Progressive Party, the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, during which he demanded the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Korea and that China be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

During 1951 and 1952 Mr. Borough participated in a welcome meeting for John Howard Lawson, sponsored by the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council at the Embassy Auditorium; filed for election to

the United States Senate on the Independent Progressive Party Ticket; and was selected to nominate Vincent Hallinan as the candidate of the Independent Progressive Party for election as President of the United States.

During 1952 and 1953 Borough continued his activities in behalf of the Independent Progressive Party; participated in meetings of Committees to Save the Rosenbergs; sent Labor Day Greetings to the Communist newspaper; attended several meetings of the Civil Rights Congress as a sponsor or a speaker; sent greetings to the Fourth Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born; and renewed his subscription to the Communist newspaper, as he had done during each of the years since he first became a subscriber in the thirties.

From 1954 until the present time the only Communist Front organizations of national significance that have been operating in California have been the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, California Legislative Conference, Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, and the American-Russian Institute. There have been other Communist-controlled organizations, some of which will be described in this report, such as the Fair Play Committee for Cuba, Emergency Civil Liberties, Socialist Workers Party, National Lawyers Guild, Committee to Secure the Release of Morton Sobell, and numerous sporadic movements that are created as pressure groups or propaganda organizations when the exigencies demand, and are quickly liquidated when the proper conditions no longer exist. Throughout this period and until the present time, Mr. Borough was an active participant in the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, Committee to Demand Justice for the California Smith Act Victims, California Legislative Conference, Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, and National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims. It should also be observed that when Mr. Borough appeared as a witness before our Committee in Los Angeles in 1941 he made the statement that he had no objection to working in organizations with members of the Communist Party. A perusal of the foregoing record, which is by no means complete, should provide some evidence that Mr. Borough has not since changed his mind, and that it is entirely proper and certainly logical to gauge a man by the record of his activities and associates over a long period of time.

MADLINE RUTHVEN BOROUGH

The wife of Reuben Borough has also been active in Communist front organizations since 1941 when she was a member of the Board of Directors of the Hollywood League of Women Shoppers. This organization, with its innocuous-sounding title, was actually one of the most potent front organizations of its day. Those who are familiar with the affidavit of Rena Vale, as set forth in our 1941 report, will get a thorough understanding of the nature and operation of this organization. The main office for the National League of Women Shoppers was situated at 273 Fifth Avenue, New York City; the Los Angeles office was situated at 6912 Sunset Blvd., and the San Francisco headquarters were at 1580

Masonic Blvd. This front, as well as all other Communist front organizations, included among the membership a predominance of non-Communist liberals who had no idea that the organization was actually under the domination of the Communist Party. We have stated, on numerous occasions, that no implication should be drawn concerning subversive activities merely because a person happened to be a member of a Communist front group. Only when a member moves from one such organization to another over a long period of years, collaborates with the Communist apparatus in spreading propaganda and carrying the Communist line, and taking an active and persistent part in the operation of a long series of Communist fronts in conjunction with known members of the Communist Party, can a correct evaluation of the individual's subversive proclivities be drawn.

Mrs. Borough was also a member of another front known as the Motion Picture Artists Committee, and after her marriage to Reuben Borough in 1944 became affiliated with the Mobilization for Democracy, 1945; a member of the State Central Committee of the Independent Progressive Party in 1948; signed a protest to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath over the trial and conviction of the national officers of the Communist Party of the United States at Foley Square in New York in 1950; was a member of the Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs in 1953; a member of the non-Partisan Committee for Clemency for the Rosenbergs in 1953; wrote a letter protesting the investigation of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council in 1954; attended meetings of the Citizens Committee for the Preservation of American Freedoms at the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles in 1954; participated in the activities of the California Legislative Conference at the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles in 1955; and sent greetings to the Fifth Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born in 1955. Since that time Mrs. Borough has been, with her husband, active in virtually every major front organization in Southern California, culminating with her current activity in the Constitutional Liberties Information Center.

HUGH DeLACY

Mr. DeLacy, who lives at 1758 North Alexandria Street, Los Angeles, with his wife, Dorothy, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by several witnesses who testified under oath before various official agencies. Most of his early experience as a Communist occurred in the State of Washington where he was a member of the faculty of the University of Washington in the 1930's. A Seattle attorney, Mr. Lane Summers, testified before a committee of the Washington State Legislature that his son, a student at the University in the spring of 1935, was indoctrinated with Communism by DeLacy to such an extent that he left his studies, left his home, moved in with another member of the Communist Party in Seattle, enlisted in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to fight in the Spanish Revolution on the side of the loyalists, and was killed in the spring of 1937.

Mr. DeLacy has been a member of the Congress of the United States, and from the thirties down until the present time he has, like his col-

league Mr. Borough, devoted virtually all his time to the operation of Communist front organizations and the spreading of Communist propaganda. In 1940 he was active in the Washington Peace Mobilization to Stop Conscription. During the period 1935 to 1955, he has been an active participant in the following Communist front organizations: National Committee to Win the Peace; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; American Peace Mobilization; American Relief for Greek Democracy; China Conference Arrangements Committee; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Harry Bridges Defense Committee; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Bill of Rights Conference; Thought Control Conference of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.

Some of the persons with whom DeLacy was associated in this array of Communist front groups, which is only a partial list, were: John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Harold Orr, Paul Robeson, Rev. Stephen Fritchman, Howard Fast, Ellenore Abowitz, Philip M. Connelly, Carey McWilliams, Rev. Jack McMichael, Hugh Bryson, Leo Gallagher, Reuben W. Borough, Harry Bridges, Lee Pressman, Dr. Murray Abowitz, Frank Pestana, Holland Roberts and Victor Shapiro.

ROBERT TRAVIS

Mr. Travis, with his wife, Helen, lives at 6324 Primrose Street in Los Angeles. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Communist School situated at 30 Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois, which was started in 1943 and known as the Abraham Lincoln School. It was strictly a Communist educational institution, somewhat like the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles and the California Labor School in San Francisco. During the forties Mr. Travis was an active participant in the following Communist front organizations: National Committee to Free Earl Browder; American Peace Mobilization; Illinois People's Conference for Legislative Action; The Victory Forum in Michigan, where Travis appeared on a panel with the District Secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan; National Conference on Civil Rights; The Washington Peace Mobilization; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Some of the other individuals with whom he was associated in these activities were: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Rev. Jack McMichael, Philip M. Connelly, Rev. Stephen Fritchman, Leo Gallagher, Howard Fast, John Howard Lawson, Hugh DeLacy, and Alvah Bessie.

MORTON NEWMAN

Mr. Newman, with his wife, Lois, resides at 4348 Esmeralda Street, Los Angeles. In our 1948 report on p. 214, he was identified as the Secretary of the Carver Club of the Communist Party of Los Angeles. Widge Newman has devoted most of her time to the operation of front organizations for the benefit of Morton Sobell, convicted Soviet spy, until she became interested in the activities of CLIC in the summer of 1961.

HELEN BLAIR

Helen Blair lives at 991 Terrace Street, Los Angeles, and in 1951 was a member-at-large of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council in Los Angeles. This was the largest Communist front cultural group that ever existed in California, and serving with her in the organization were Dr. Murray Abowitz, Martin Hall, John Howard Lawson, Robert W. Kenny, Ben Margolis and Victor Shapiro.

GEORGE PERMAN

Mr. Perman was residing in San Francisco in 1949 and during that year was a member of the faculty at the Communist school there with Holland Roberts, Celeste Strack, and David Jenkins, all members of the Communist Party.

We have given some of the front affiliations of the people who run CLIC for the purpose of showing that these are indeed seasoned veterans with an abundance of experience and skill. Their contacts enabled them to quickly secure mailing lists from similar organizations and from a variety of liberal publications. These leaders were also able to secure assistance from old associates, among whom were Dorothy Healey, Martin Hall, Rose Chernin, Oscar G. Coover, Victor Shapiro, Malcolm Dobbs, Peter Chaunt, David Hyun, Ellenore Abowitz, and Celeste Strack Kaplan. Each has been identified by sworn testimony as a member of the Communist movement, and their names have been mentioned in several of our previous reports. Since Dorothy Healey's role in connection with this organization is of particular importance, and also because her history of activity in the Communist Party has never been given in detail, and since she has appeared as a witness before our Committee on more than one occasion, we deem it appropriate to make some comment concerning the history of her Communist career.

DOROTHY HEALEY

The chairman of the southern division of the Communist Party of California long used the "Party name" or alias of Dorothy Ray, which she assumed when she joined the Young Communist League at Berkeley as a fourteen-year-old high school student. She was born Dorothy Rosenbloom in Denver, Colorado, in 1914. Archie Brown, who was living in Oakland at the time, joined the East Bay YCL a year after she did, and these two young Marxists gave the movement an impetus that brought it to a high state of development.

Immediately after becoming a member of the Young Communist League, Dorothy Ray worked tirelessly at an endless succession of assignments: typing, mimeographing, circulating propaganda, attending meetings of the Party and its fronts, studying Marxism-Leninism, recruiting, organizing. Eager for responsibility and authority, she was soon caught up in the epidemic of strikes that prevailed during the depression of the thirties. When she was twenty years old she had become a fiery and defiant leader and organizer of strikers. Arrested in 1934 for fomenting a strike by 5,000 Imperial County lettuce workers, she was convicted and sent to jail. In August, 1938, she was

leading the vegetable workers' strike in Orange County, and during September and October was sent to Kern County to help in a cotton strike. She was, by this time, a member of an extremely powerful union that had been completely captured by the Communists, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, C.I.O.

From 1928 to 1938 Dorothy Ray had worked in an Emeryville cannery, and as a waitress and a secretary; she had demonstrated her ability as an organizer of strikers and as a Communist leader. She was elected an International Vice-President of UCAPAWA, and joined another huge and vigorous front in 1941, The State, County and Municipal Workers of America.

Our 1959 report contains a section on the infiltration of political groups in California and the Communist espousal of candidates for state elective offices in the 1930's. Dorothy Ray was an energetic worker in this field, joined Labor's Non-Partisan League in 1939, and gave the organizational report to that organization's convention in June, 1940. After the elections it was decided that she should have a state job of strategic importance. By the time she was ready to take the civil service examination in 1938 the Party's candidates had been placed in key positions through which they were able to swing open the doors and admit some of the most capable Communists in California to carefully selected positions.

This era of severe depression, with masses of unemployed, a massive relief administration, and large numbers of stricken and embittered workers created a situation that was ideal for Communist exploitation, and the Party took every advantage of its opportunities. Through its Workers Alliance front it indoctrinated the unemployed; through its State, County and Municipal Workers front it moved its most skilled members into key spots. Dorothy Ray was appointed Deputy State Labor Commissioner in February, 1940. In the customary Communist practice she quietly dropped out of all formal and open Party activities just before entering upon her new duties for the State, thus putting herself in a position to declare that she was not a Communist. So the new Deputy Labor Commissioner settled down at 135 Buena Vista Avenue in San Francisco, and from her office at 515 Van Ness Avenue commenced to handle labor problems, a field in which she was obviously well qualified. Whether her talents were devoted primarily to the interests of the bourgeois majority of the people of California or to the Communist apparatus that was openly dedicated to its subversion is a question the reader must determine for himself.

We believe it appropriate to note here in passing that working at the same address with Dorothy Ray was a Research Assistant in the Economics Division of the State Department of Labor. She worked under the name of Frances Moore, but her real name was Mrs. William Plunkert. She and her husband had worked with Dorothy Ray in the Communist political fronts that had paved the way for the election of a group of Party-sponsored candidates in 1939. Mrs. Plunkert assumed her new job in 1939, and her Communist husband became a top official in the State Relief Administration.

All three of Dorothy Ray's husbands were Communists: Lou Schneiderman is the brother of William Schneiderman, who was top Communist official in District 13 for many years; Don Healey, whom she married in 1941, and Philip Connelly, former head of the American Newspaper Guild in Los Angeles, thereafter the head of the Pacific Coast C.I.O., then staff member on the Communist newspaper in California.

It is appropriate also to remind the reader that here is an example of what we mean by stating that the Communist danger should not be measured in terms of the Party's numerical strength. In discussing the records of those connected with just one front organization we have examples of three people who were in extremely important positions: Reuben Borough was Commissioner of Public Works for the City of Los Angeles; Hugh DeLacy was a member of Congress, and Dorothy Healey was a Deputy State Labor Commissioner.

Frank Wilkinson, who has been mentioned prominently in several of our previous reports, not only played a leading part in the Constitutional Liberties Information Center, but, as will be seen when we discuss the other current Communist fronts, is an active participant in virtually all of them. In addition, there are eight other CLIC leaders, all identified under oath as having been Party members, with the exception of one, who is the head of the Trotskyite movement in Los Angeles. They are: Martin Hall, former leader of Communist youth in Germany—, a teacher in Communist schools in California, a member of virtually every major Communist front organization since his entry into the United States in 1937, and who is presently acting as a pro-Castro propagandist in Los Angeles; Rose Chernin, a Communist for many years and the head of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; Oscar G. Coover, Trotskyite leader who is also a pro-Castro propagandist; Victor Shapiro, publicist and Party member of several years standing; Peter Chaunt and David Hyun, each facing deportation proceedings as Communist Party activists; Ellenore Abowitz, who, with Dorothy Healey, played a leading part in the activities which, during the late thirties, led to the election of the Communist-sponsored slate of liberals to state positions; Celeste Strack Kaplan, UCLA graduate and former officer in the Communist Party.

CLIC Activities

After holding the organizing meeting for CLIC in July, 1961, contact was established with the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties in New York, which acted in constant liaison with national Communist officers and as a clearing center through which contact could be maintained with similar organizations throughout the country. It operated from room 1525, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, N.Y., and while there were thirty-four sponsors listed on the letterhead, the actual work was done by two or three trusted Party members, and in particular the Executive Secretary, Miriam Friedlander. The sponsors were as follows:

Mrs. Bertha Anderson, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Rev. Lee Ball Ardsley, New York; Hon. Elmer Benson, Appleton, Minnesota; Rev. Mark Chamberlain, Gresham, Oregon; John M. Coe, Pensacola, Florida; Robert W. Dunne, New York; Stanley Faulkner, New York; Moe Fishman, New York; Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Rim Forest, California; Royal W. France, New York; Hugo Gellert, New York; Vincent Hallinan, San Francisco, California; Grace Hutchins, New York; Rockwell Kent, New York; Opal F. Kracek, Nogales, Arizona; Nathaniel S. Lehrman, New York; Meridel LeSueur, Minnesota; Saul Londe, St. Louis, Missouri; Dr. Leo Mayer, New York; John T. McTernan, Los Angeles, California; Rev. William H. Melish, Brooklyn, New York; Richard Moore, New York; Captain Hugh Mulzac, Jamaica, New York; Alex Munsell, New York; George B. Murphy, Jr., Washington, D.C.; Anton Refreier, Woodstock, New York; Bertha C. Reynolds, Stoughton, Massachusetts; Anette T. Rubenstein, New York; Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Winchester Center, Connecticut; Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Youngstown, Ohio; Jeanette S. Turner, Long Island City, New York; Dr. Willard Uphaus, New Haven, Connecticut; Mrs. Clara M. Vincent, Livonia, Michigan, and Rev. Eliot White, Arlington, Massachusetts.

Miriam Friedlander has been identified as a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of New York, and, as we noted above, has been notified to register as an officer of the Communist Party by the United States Attorney General through a proceeding before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

An exchange of correspondence between Miriam Friedlander in New York and Helen Blair in California was initiated soon after CLIC commenced to function, and has been continued to date. In December of 1961 Mr. Oscar G. Coover, organizer for the Trotskyite Communists in Los Angeles County, wrote from his headquarters at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles 33, offered to collaborate with CLIC and was notified that his co-operation would be gratefully accepted.

Through the Communist bookstore at 1806 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, from the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties in New York, and from the comparable groups in other states that had been alerted by Miriam Friedlander and James Tormey, another New York Communist Party member, came vast supplies of mailing lists and literature. This enabled CLIC to distribute a steady volume of propaganda material, to start a monthly newsletter and to send the persons on its extensive mailing list brochures, copies of the dissenting opinions of Justices Warren and Black in the two critical Supreme Court decisions, open letters, broadsides, booklets, petitions to President Kennedy and other officials, and all of the usual mass of material so characteristic of Communist organizations engaged in this type of united front pressure activity. It was convenient that one of the active members of the CLIC personnel, Mort Newman, operated a printing plant in Los Angeles, and was able to produce much of this propaganda at a rate that was very little above cost.

Contacts With Similar Organizations

Before the end of 1962 CLIC had established contact with the following organizations that were formed for the same general purpose:

Connecticut Committee for Constitutional Liberties, Irma Botto, Woodbridge, Connecticut; Bronx Committee for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, 2731 Berker Avenue, Bronx 67, New York; Cincinnati Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, P.O. Box 27037, Cincinnati, Ohio; Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 189 West Madison Street, Suite 811, Chicago 2, Illinois; Committee for Constitutional Liberties, Room 401, 942 Market Street, San Francisco 2, California (this is also the address at which the Communist Party of California maintains its headquarters); Delaware Valley Committee for Democratic Rights, Jean Frantejis, 249 West Melville Street, Philadelphia 39, Pennsylvania; Indiana Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, P.O. Box 1413, South Bend 24, Indiana; Maryland Committee for Democratic Rights, Madalyn Murray, 1526 Winford Road, Baltimore 12, Maryland; Michigan Committee for Constitutional Liberties, P.O. Box 245, Detroit 31, Michigan; Minnesota Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Harry Mayville, 690 Fourteenth Avenue N.W., New Brighton, Minnesota; New Jersey Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, P.O. Box 8006, Newark, New Jersey, and 194 Hillside Avenue, Nutley, New Jersey; Ohio Citizens for Constitutional Rights, P.O. Box 5006, Cleveland 1, Ohio; Oregon Committee for Constitutional Liberties, Route 1, Box 380, Rockaway, Oregon; Western Pennsylvania Constitutional Information Center, 5555 Beeler Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin Committee for Constitutional Liberties, P.O. Box 433, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Miriam Friedlander, Executive Secretary of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties in New York, was advised on or about July 15, 1961, that an organizing meeting would be held later that month to start the California organization. And while contact was maintained with all of the fronts listed above, it soon became apparent that Miriam Friedlander's New York group was the coordinating center.

On August 2, 1961, Robert Travis sent notices to a select mailing list, advising them of a "Work and Development Meeting" scheduled for 8:00 p.m., August 8, in the Crystal Room of the Clark Hotel, 426 South Hill Street, Los Angeles (see reproduction of notice on page 111). As a result of this meeting the mailing list was vastly expanded, and a larger rally was planned. This rally was first scheduled to be held in the First Unitarian Church on September 22, but Mr. Travis was advised that the facilities of the church were only available for religious functions. This, of course, preserved the tax exempt status of the First Unitarian Church; it had nearly lost its privilege during the years when its minister, Stephen Fritchman, opened the church to Communist schools, receptions for Communist officials, and assorted Communist front activities. It was thus natural for Mr. Travis to first consider holding the CLIC Rally at the church, and equally logical for his request to be rejected for the reasons stated. Mr. Travis was not active in our State when the tax-exempt status of the First Unitarian Church was placed in jeopardy.

The next choice for a suitable place for the rally was the Embassy Auditorium at 847 South Grand Avenue. For many years this had been the location for some very highly controversial meetings, both

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
INFORMATION CENTER
P.O. Box 388, Hollywood 28, Cal.
Webster 8-7195

Rouben W. Borough, chair.
Hugh DeLary, vice chair.
Morton Newman, treas.
Robert C. Travis, sec'y

"...a major break in the wall designed by the First Amendment to keep this country free by leaving the people free to talk about any kind of change in basic governmental policies they desire to talk about."

—Justice Hugo L. Black in dissent on McCarran Act

August 2, 1961

Dear Friend,

The letter head indicates what transpired after the informative got-together with Attorney Ben Margolis on the June 5th 5-4 Supreme Court decisions upholding the McCarran Act and the Smith Act's membership clause.

A work meeting established the information center and set up the framework of committees which will obtain and publish informative material, contact organizations with speakers and publications, raise funds, and prepare a mass meeting for September. The target date, remember, is October 2 when the Supreme Court reconvenes; the immediate objective is to let the President and the Attorney General know that many organizations and individuals feel that the Administration should agree to a re-hearing before the Court.

You are invited to attend a second, enlarged
WORK & DEVELOPMENT MEETING on

THURSDAY, AUG. 8, 8 P.M.

Crystal Room, Clark International Hotel, 426 S. Hill St.

If you cannot come, please designate someone to replace you. We do need your help to get moving in the short time remaining.

Incidentally: there's to be a national gathering in New York City on Sept. 23-24. Will you keep this in mind, please, and if by any chance you are considering a trip East, or know anyone who is, try to match up the date so that the Los Angeles area can be assured of some representation.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Travis
Robert C. Travis, Secretary

P.S. Any donations you can send or bring will go toward purchase and distribution of the Black and Murran dissents, and toward similar projects.

Fascist and Communist. We have described many of these at length in previous reports which have dealt with such organizations as the Friends of Progress and the meetings of Gerald L. K. Smith. After World War II the management of the Embassy Auditorium has been alert in its effort to deny the use of its premises to any subversive group of either Right or Left. This is not always easy, as all front organizations are deliberately set up to carefully conceal the real control and to present an innocent facade for the purpose of attracting members and supporters.

In the case of CLIC, however, the Embassy Auditorium made its own inquiries and decided to refund the deposit and refuse the use of the premises. Preparations had already been made for a rally on the evening of Friday, October 6. The Communist newspaper in its issue for September 16, described the coming event as a function designed to "... win public support for reversal of the U.S. Supreme Court's June 5 decisions upholding the McCarran and Smith Acts ..."

But on September 21, Mr. William M. Howard, Manager of the Embassy Auditorium wrote the following letter:

"September 22, 1961

Constitutional Liberties Information Center

P.O. Box 388

Hollywood 28, California

ATTENTION: Mr. Travis

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find our check #1449 to the Amount of \$50.00, the deposit which we are returning to you for October 6, 1961 meeting that we have cancelled for reasons that I stated in our telephone conversation this morning.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. M. Howard, Mgr.

Embassy Auditorium."

It was now necessary to postpone the date of the rally to October 20, and a notice to that effect appeared in the *Daily Bruin*, a student publication at the University of California in Los Angeles on October 4, 1961:

"Defend the Bill of Rights Rally, October 20, 8:00 p.m., Park Manor, 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles.

Up-to-the-minute reports on the status of the McCarran Act before the Supreme Court . . .

Reports of Delegates to the National Assembly for Democratic Rights . . .

Outstanding speakers, including A. L. Wirin, Chief Counsel Southern California ACLU, and Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Chairman, Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

Entertainment— Donation 50¢ (students free)

Auspices: Constitutional Liberties Information Center, Reuben W. Borough, chairman, P.O. Box 388, Hollywood 28."

This advertisement was also run in the Los Angeles City College student paper, but when Helen Travis tried to have it also appear in the *Trojan*, student publication at the University of Southern California, she was turned down.

Prior to this rally, which was not as successful as CLIC had anticipated because of the postponements and disruption of preparations, Helen Travis had accompanied Ben Dobbs, Communist officer, and Ben Margolis, Communist lawyer, to address a meeting for the benefit of the *People's World* on August 9, and took advantage of the opportunity to solicit support for CLIC; Morton Newman's printing shop had been turning out Justice Hugo Black's dissenting opinion in the key Supreme Court's decisions, and a folder entitled "Facts for Thinking Americans," to be distributed at the rally. On Friday, September 29, Mr. Margolis and Dorothy Healey were scheduled to address a meeting of *National Guardian* supporters at 1528 North Vermont, and to attract attendance for CLIC functions. Ellenore Abowitz, who had

aroused interest abroad about the Chessman case, was busily renewing her foreign contacts and again arousing their indignation—this time against the government of the United States for endeavoring to prevent internal subversion by the Communist Party.

In August, 1961, Miriam Friedlander sent from New York a supply of materials intended for CLIC in Los Angeles, but which by mistake was delivered to the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties in San Francisco. This organization was located at 942 Market Street, which is also the location for the office of the Communist Party of California. The telephone number for this counterpart of CLIC is EX 7-0382, and the officers of the organization are Herbert J. Phillips, chairman; Doris Rydman, secretary; Walter J. Stack, treasurer, and Herbert Nugent, publicity. Since Phillips, Stack and Nugent are the real operators of this organization and have exerted their somewhat extensive influence in liberal circles by procuring speakers of note for both their own organization in San Francisco and for CLIC in Los Angeles, the records of these three are worthy of note.

Herbert J. Phillips was formerly a professor at the University of Washington in Seattle, having been exposed as a secret member of the Communist Party and fired from the university in 1948. As early as 1944 he was a contributing editor to the quarterly Marxian magazine *Science and Society*, which was published at 30 East 20th Street, New York City.

Walter J. Stack, also a member of the Communist Party for many years, was a member of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder in 1942. Other members of that Communist front organization included Philip M. Connelly, Hugh DeLacy, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Paul Robeson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carey McWilliams, and Leo Gallagher. Most of Stack's activities have centered around the Communist fraction in the Marine Firemen and Water Tenders Union in San Francisco. He was an alternate delegate to the National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States in 1945, and his wife has served in many official capacities for the Communist Party in San Francisco.

Herbert Nugent has been a Communist for many years, having served as assistant secretary of International Labor Defense, a subdivision of the Comintern, in 1939. At that time the ILD headquarters were situated at 100 Market Street, San Francisco, with an office in Los Angeles located at 127 South Broadway. Other members of International Labor Defense at the time included Elaine Black, Benjamin Davis, Jr., recently arrested for failure to register as an official of the Communist Party of the United States; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the present chairman of the Communist Party of the United States; Leo Gallagher and A. L. Wirin, formerly attorneys for ILD; and Earl Browder. Nugent also was active in the Federal Writers Project in 1937, and was Legislative Director for the Communist Party of San Francisco in 1948. He was, of course, intimately associated with both Walter Stack and his wife, since Nugent was a Communist official in San Francisco when Mrs. Stack was chairman of the Party there, and collaborated with her husband in 1947 when Nugent was waterfront organizer for the Party and Walter Stack was heading the Communist fraction in the Marine Firemen and Water Tenders Union.

Pressure from Abroad

The Constitutional Liberties Information Center, during the latter part of December, 1961, received a message directed to the President of the United States by a group of West German residents who described themselves as "anti-Fascist." The statement was in German, we are reliably informed that it was translated for the benefit of CLIC by Mr. Martin Hall, and early in January was circulated by CLIC in mimeograph form beneath the letterhead of the organization. We direct specific attention to the second paragraph of this translated message, wherein the Communist Party of the United States is described as a democratic organization. The entire statement is as follows:

"Over 100 West German anti-Nazis have written President Kennedy to express strong criticism of the McCarran and Smith Acts, it was announced here. Among the letter's signers are many non-Communists, including a Catholic Priest, Franciscas Ulrich.

The letter, sent from Munich on December 22, 1961, recalls the signers' own years of suffering under fascism, and urges the President to protect democratic rights in the United States. The Supreme Court decisions upholding both Acts, the German writers aver, cast 'a deep shadow upon the much-praised American freedom . . .'

'When German anti-fascists warn us against two laws which purport to be aimed at Communists but can ultimately strangle all critical and independent political thought, we would be wise to take heed,' said Reuben W. Borough, chairman of the Constitutional Liberties Information Center which released the letter.' They know from their own bitter experience that failure to protest and combat Hitler's initial suppression of Communists helped the ultimate suppression of all dissent to the program of war and mass murder. I personally hope that the President will ask Congress to repeal both of these dangerous laws, and that in the meantime he will pursue no prosecutions under them.'

A translation of the Munich letter follows:

Highly esteemed Mr. President!

The undersigned anti-fascist former resistance fighters and victims of the Nazi regime in the city of Munich have learned that the Supreme Court of the United States by a vote of five to four have declared legal the membership clause of the Smith Act and the McCarran Act.

We know that thereby the Communist Party in the USA and *other democratic organizations* (Committee's emphasis) have been put under a special law and must let themselves be registered 'agents of a foreign power' and that otherwise they face the threat of a five-year prison sentence and fine of \$10,000 for each day on which they fail to register.

We regard these regulations as utterly undemocratic and we must tell you frankly that this decision casts a deep shadow upon the much-praised American freedom and democracy.

Many of us have suffered for long years in the concentration camps and prisons of Hitler because we had defended the ideas of democracy and peace against the barbarism of fascism. Therefore we cannot understand the persecution of democratic people in the USA.

We feel a strong bond with all these Americans who think as we do and reject with determination the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Therefore, Mr. President, we pray that you will make come true the promise which you made in your inaugural address not to allow abolition of human rights in the USA.

With exceptional regards,

(signed) Karl Feuerer, Journalist,

former member of the Buchenwald German Committee.

(108 signatures follow.)”

Those who have had some experience in reading between the lines of Communist propaganda material will have little difficulty in accurately interpreting the language used in this amazing statement addressed to the President of the United States. The reference to the Communist Party as a democratic organization; the ironic use of quotation marks when referring to the American Communist Party as an agent of a foreign power, and the strong bond of these German signatories with their American colleagues “who think as we do and reject with determination the Smith and McCarran Acts,” are too obvious to require further comment. This arrogant and presumptuous meddling in the internal affairs of our country, in an attempt to pressure the President to personally throttle our legal process and the enforcement of our laws reminds us of a similar situation that existed in California in 1947. On November 5 of that year the Committee interrogated a witness named David Hedley, who admitted under oath that he was the assistant director of the Communist school in San Francisco, and that he had taught a course in that institution for several years. After he had been identified as head of the California Political Action Committee for the CIO, a position from which he presumed to advise American members of trade unions how to exercise their right of franchise, undertook to guide them politically, and even taught courses at which American trade union members were instructed how to vote, Hedley was compelled to admit that he was not a citizen of the United States—, but he nevertheless greatly resented our questioning the propriety of a revolutionary alien to interfere in our government and stated that “. . . any kind of a political affiliation or political activity that I may engage in is my right, guaranteed by the—under the Constitution—and that it is not proper for the committee to place questions of that kind.” (1948 Committee Report, p. 195.)

The CLIC Newsletter for January, 1962, announced the passage of a resolution by the National Student Association condemning the McCarran Act as a “. . . threat to the free exchange of ideas on university campuses because it is used as a justification to deny the right of students to hear controversial speakers on their campuses. The attempt to stifle the pursuit of truth abridges a fundamental principle of academic freedom.”

This newsletter also announced that Sam Kushner and Florence Hall of Los Angeles had been added to the steadily growing list of persons who would be required to register as Communist Party leaders. Although they used different names, the two are husband and wife who came from Chicago to California in June of 1962 when Kushner was assigned to assume control of the Los Angeles office of the *People's World*. The newsletter commented:

"Who Is Next? You could be next. The way the McCarran Act is worded, many people other than Communists could be prosecuted under its provisions. CLIC offices have detailed legal analysis of the law as well as other kinds of literature. Please, take advantage of CLIC and start correspondence. We have lots of material here and would like to get it out."

By the time the newsletter for May, 1962, was ready for distribution the government had moved with rapidity to enforce the provisions of the McCarran and Smith Acts. These activities on the part of the Department of Justice were summarized in this issue of the newsletter:

"MANIFOLD ATTACKS have been launched by the Government around various aspects of the McCarran Act. During the last few months the Party was indicted for failure to register: C.P. leaders Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis were indicted and arrested (now released on bail); a civil suit for \$500,000 back taxes was initiated against the Communist Party; proceedings against so-called 'Communist front' organizations were resumed; Grand Jury subpoenas were issued to staff members of *The Worker* and other left-wing publications and to various individual Communists, with two (James Jackson, Phil Bart) sentenced to 6 months for contempt when they refused to become informers under the duress of the 'immunity act'; passports of several persons were rescinded.

In the offing are probable tests before the Subversive Activities Control Board of the membership provision, enforcement of the ban on passport applications, and required wrapper-labeling of 'Communist' publications.

The CLIC executive board believes that immediate action is necessary to combat these first moves to outlaw a political party and to emphasize the attendant dangers—abrogation of all First Amendment guarantees, concentration camps, a reign of fear and silence. . .

Hence the enclosed *Call* to a working conference to examine all aspects of the McCarran Act threat and to project the widest possible campaign against it.

CLIC is sending this *Call* to many organizations and leading individuals in our area. Please do your best to assure the success of the parley on Saturday, June 9. Additional Calls are available.

Also available are more copies of CLIC's revised 'Facts for Thinking Americans,' and of its leaflet 'Bill of Rights on Trial,' concerning the arrest of Davis and Hall. Some 3,000 of these have been mailed out and more thousands distributed."

A copy of this Call is reproduced on pages 118 and 119 and it will be noted that among the prominent speakers is Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Southern Division of the Communist Party of California.

The May Newsletter reported that its counterpart in San Francisco, the Committee for Constitutional Liberties, had "... issued a folder quoting Al Capone's warning against Bolshevism, recalling the not-so-amusing success of another gangster who ranted about the 'Communist menace'—Hitler, and a drawing of the chilling parallel with the McCarran Act."

This is an obvious and transparent piece of propaganda, which illustrates how far the front groups will go with their own peculiar type of reasoning. What this statement really says is that Capone and Hitler were odious men whose utterances could not be believed; they said Bolshevism was evil; therefore Bolshevism is good.

The convenience of utilizing this device lies in its boundless elasticity, and the lumping of all anti-Communists in one foul enemy camp exemplified by Al Capone and Adolph Hitler, and all pro-Communists in the opposite camp of nice people and "progressives." This also follows the class-struggle concept that has been the basis of Communist ideology since it was proclaimed by Marx, and which permeates the Party propaganda with hatred against the class enemy. It crept into the letter directed to the President of the United States by the German anti-Fascists, who referred to the American Community Party "... and other democratic organization . . . ;" and it crept into *Political Affairs* in July, 1961, when the editorial referred to the Supreme Court's momentous decisions announced a month earlier as the work of "the class enemy."

This CLIC Newsletter also announced the formation in England of a Committee for Democratic Rights in the USA, and announced that it had just issued a folder attacking the McCarran and Smith Acts and urging its members to protest to the United States Embassy in London. Headquarters for this organization were at 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 1, and its executive secretary was Bessie Bond, who provided CLIC with English propaganda material, some of which appeared in the CLIC Newsletters.

The late Vito Marcantonio, when a member of Congress in 1950, warned that body against the impending passage of the McCarran Act by saying that it would be a substitution of fascism and tyranny for democratic precepts, and that it would envelop 150 million Americans in an atmosphere of fear. What the Newsletter omitted to say in this connection, however, was that the late Mr. Marcantonio had long been the national leader of International Labor Defense, the legal arm of the World Communist movement, and that he had been a member of practically every large Communist front organization in the United States over a period of many years.

At its executive board meeting on January 3, 1962, it was decided that CLIC should undertake the training of selected officers and stewards of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, long dominated by Communists, so they could spread the intense campaign being waged by the Party against enforcement of the McCarran and Smith Acts. Some difficulty had been encountered in the effort to persuade prominent

against the mccarran act

*

CONSTITUTIONAL
LIBERTIES
INFORMATION
CENTER
announces

* A WORK CONFERENCE

SATURDAY - JUNE 9, 1962
10 a.m. - 1 p.m.
PARK MANOR
607 S. WESTERN AVENUE
LOS ANGELES

REGISTRATION APPLICATION

All clubs and organizations are
invited to send delegates and observers to this
important work session.

Reuben W. Borough, Chairman
Constitutional Liberties Information Center • 1213 North Highland Avenue, Los Angeles 38

I will attend the work Conference Against the McCarran Act, Saturday - June 9, 10-00 a.m.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

I REPRESENT _____

Union/Organization/Association _____

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

REGISTRATION

9:30 A.M.
\$1.00
students 50¢

SPEAKERS

James L. Daugherty

Hugh DeLacy

Dorothy Healey

Phil Kerby

Daniel G. Marshall

Mildred Simon

coffee will be served
during intermission

DISCUSSION

THE McCARRAN ACT -

one year
since the Supreme Court's
"Go-Ahead" Decision. . . .

Has FREEDOM of Speech suffered?

Has FREEDOM of the Press been
effected?

Has FREEDOM of travel been curbed?

Is there JAIL for Opinion?

Are American Concentration Camps
being readied?



We CAN COUNTERACT -

Our Government's Program of
"Full-Speed Backward"
returning us . . .

. . . to the notorious days
of the Alien and Sedition Acts .

WE - THE PEOPLE -
CAN DO IT TOGETHER!



American liberals to pressure President Kennedy to interfere in the judicial branch of the government, but the anti-fascists in Germany and England issued their letters and leaflets without hesitation as part of the general line of action to aid the American Communist Party.

In addition to enlisting the assistance of such unions as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CLIC sent its speakers to appear before any group that would listen to them. Frank Pestana, whose Communist connections have been described in other reports, spoke to the Challengers Club in Compton, and as a result that organization collected some funds for CLIC. Other speakers were appearing before such fronts as Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, California Legislative Conference, and Women for Legislative Action; and representatives from these groups reciprocated by appearing as speakers at CLIC functions.

The CLIC Newsletter for June, 1962, is almost entirely devoted to a discussion of the conference which occurred on June 9, and we therefore must quote from it at length.

"Some 150 delegates and observers took part in CLIC's June 9th conference and seemed to agree that they had learned a lot.

Most important, they now appear to be 'rarin' to go' on CLIC's twin campaigns: 1. a petition drive, directed to Congressman (see enclosure); 2. a major effort to raise \$10,000 during the next four months.

Reuben W. Borough, CLIC chairman, welcoming participants, stressed the need to abolish popular misconceptions as to the relationship of government to citizens in a democracy. This means a campaign against enforcement and for repeal of the McCarran Act which imposes standardized thinking, and defense of the constitutional rights of Communists who, he asserted, constitute the sector of liberty immediately under fire.

James Daugherty, regional director of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, traced the developments of attacks on unions after they reached a peak of militancy and effectiveness in the '30s. There was the Dies Committee, the destruction of the Wagner Act, the imposition of Taft-Hartley, and finally the McCarran Act. Because of Mine-Mill's militancy, Daugherty said, it became the main target for attacks timed to disrupt bargaining and assist raiding. (5 recent raids in the L.A. area played up SACB slanders.)

'The attack on my union was only the first,' he warned, 'and if it proves successful the precedent will be set for attacks on the rest of the unions.' The *entire* organized labor movement, he added, is reaction's ultimate target, and thus *unity* must be established to fight back.

Rose Chernin, executive director of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, discussed the 12 sections of the McCarran Act which destroy the right of political asylum (except for fascists who were later saved by an amendment!), facilitate the deportation of long-time residents, and make naturalization more difficult and revocable.

While these sections (later incorporated into the Walter-McCarran Act) are intended to intimidate the foreign born, Mrs. Chernin declared they 'have not buckled down; they refuse to live within the law; they resisted.' Fight-back victories in L.A. include 28 or 35 Mexican deportation cases and 5 of 7 Japanese.

Phil Kerby, editor of 'Frontier,' came to 'defend the right of a person to express *any* political idea.' He flayed government persecution of Communist publications as 'absolute violation of the 1st amendment and a threat to the entire free press.' Repressive laws like the McCarran Act, he said, are designed to inhibit free political thinking and discussion. They impose a straitjacket on the American people. The country must deal with political *reality*, he emphasized, not with the fantasy arising from 'our obsession' with Communism.

(Note: Phil Kerby's biting wit cannot be reported adequately. Next time you learn that he is to speak somewhere—take our advice: hear him!)

Dan Marshall, prominent constitutional attorney paid tribute to the many who have faced jail and job-loss to stand up for freedom of conscience . . . Jehovah's Witnesses, Communists, trade unionists, fighters for integration.

The McCarran Act's passport regulations impinge on the 'natural right' of expatriation which was affirmed by law in 1868, he said. The act enables the Secretary of State to reject passport applications he considers 'prejudicial' to the U.S. Next, logically, can come regulation of interstate travel, Marshall warned. He urged an all-out drive to resist the McCarran Act 'in toto.'

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, introduced as chairman of the recently-formed Gus Hall-Benjamin Davis Defense Committee, said that for Communists to register would be to commit perjury by accepting the wild definition of the McCarran Act. She related the consequences of non-registration to date—indictment of the Party, of Hall and Davis (who already face more than a lifetime in jail under the act's fantastic penalties), contempt citations against James Jackson and Phil Bart (the latter now voided) for refusal to testify before a grand jury under 'immunity.' Ten more Communists are to be brought before the SACB. 'It's like slow poison,' she averred, 'eating away at the vitals of American freedom.' Freedom of speech has suffered for many since the McCarran Act was upheld a year ago. However, Mrs. Flynn noted, more people than ever are eager to hear what Communists have to say for themselves. Concentration camps already exist in the United States, Mrs. Flynn disclosed on the basis of documentary evidence. At present they are closed, but they're ready for occupation under the McCarran Act's most drastic provisions. They go by another name: 'detention camps.'

The facts on the McCarran Act and inspiration for the fight-back must be brought to the American people, said CLIC treasurer Mort Newman and CLIC vice-chairman, former Congressman Hugh DeLacy. They presented a proposed budget (\$10,000) and stressed the need for wide publicity. Conference participants in-

licated their agreement and will take the fund drive back to interested organizations.

The petition for the repeal of the McCarran Act won dramatic approval, with 1,221 petitions taken out during the conference. (Incidentally, your petition, which we enclose, is numbered, and we are *counting on you* to use it both for signatures and for donations! Return it, when complete, in the envelope also enclosed—and send for more!)"

Among the organizations represented at the June 9th Work Conference were the Young Socialist Alliance, Challengers Club of Watts, Women for Legislative Action, Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, Independent Student Union, Hungarian Working Women's Club, Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, East Side Culture Club, and the *Morning Freiheit*.

Propaganda materials were obtained on consignment from the Progressive Book Store in Los Angeles, as seen by the letter reproduced on page 123. Dorothy Healey had attended the executive board meeting in April, and details for this work conference had been discussed with Mort Newman, Reuben Borough, Charles Kramer and Helen Travis, lining up solid Communist Party support and insuring representation at the affair from front organizations.

By June of 1942, Reuben Borough had become relatively inactive, aside from writing occasional letters to enlist the aid of prominent liberals and clergymen, as illustrated on page 124. His advice was solicited from time to time, but all of the actual work of running CLIC was soon being done by Helen and Robert Travis, Morton Newman, Widge Newman, Hugh and Dorothy DeLacy and Helen Blair. And Dorothy Healey was present at executive meetings, giving advice on press conferences and handling liaison with persons and organizations within her sphere of influence.

Immediately after the Supreme Court opinions were announced in June, 1961, and CLIC's formation a month later, most of its work consisted in building up mailing contacts and securing lists from other fronts. Then the familiar coterie of well-known liberals were solicited to lend their names to petitions and letters which would, in turn, attract others who were willing to travel along in such company. The next step was to distribute propaganda that was carefully prepared to convey the concept that the McCarran and Smith Acts were epitomes of fascist evil instead of constitutional measures designed to control an arrogant subversive group that was dedicated to our destruction, and that had been suffered to function in our midst since 1919. By constant repetition the propaganda issued by CLIC and comparable organizations throughout the nation hammered home the idea that if the Communist Party were even made to register, all our liberties would be destroyed. These self-serving declarations gushed forth in great volume, reaching those on the mailing lists of other fronts and the subscribers to Party publications.

After the petitions for rehearing had been denied and the Communist Party was found guilty and fined, the U.S. Department of Justice

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES INFORMATION CENTER

P.O. Box 388 • Hollywood 28, California • WE 8-7195

Chairman: Nathan W. Burroughs Vice Chairman: Hugh DeLoay Secretary: Robert C. Travis Treasurer: Morton Newman

May 25, 1962

PROGRESSIVE BOOK SHOP
Los Angeles, California

Dear Sirs:

This will authorize the bearer, Mr. George Farman,
to take on consignment materials needed for our
work conference on June 9, 1962.

Thanking you,

Sincerely,

Melen Blair
for CLIC

From Harry Truman

"There is no more fundamental axiom of American freedom than the freedom of speech. In a free country we punish men for the crimes they commit and never for the opinions they form . . . the inevitable tendency (of this Act) would be to suppress no more on undetermined subjects."

"No considerations of expediency can justify the enactment of such a bill as this, a bill which would so greatly curtail our liberties . . ." (From Harry Truman, Aug. 22, 1950, in radio message on Subversive Act.)

President Court Justice Hugo Black

"It is my belief that our Constitution with the Bill of Rights was purposely intended to make our Government one of strictly limited powers First, in the words of our Lord in the words designed by the First Amendment to keep this country free by leaving the people free to talk about any

kind of change in their government with out their having to take arms . . ." President Court Justice Hugo Black in *Whitney v. California* speaks with a voice.

moved quickly to ask that Party officials be made to register in compliance with the law. The defense concentrated its attention around the cases of Gus Hall and Ben Davis, and CLIC entered into another phase of activity, placing less emphasis on stirring up opposition to the Smith and McCarran Acts and more on raising funds for Communist legal talent and pressure petitions urging the Government to stop bothering the Party and hampering its subversive activities.

As we have often repeated, Communist influence must never be estimated in terms of the Party's numerical strength. Here is an example of how a front is created and operated by a few Communists whose influence is multiplied by legions of non-Communists who accept the Party line and provide the muscle for the fronts. It is impossible for us to know the national influence exerted by CLIC and the fifteen other groups with which it collaborates in a common effort to protect the Communist Party and throttle the Government. Each of these sixteen organizations has its own widely-scattered supporters, and we only know that the total propaganda impact must be formidable. This entire network sprang into action overnight, triggered by the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961. Any neophyte political worker should readily understand the superb efficiency of a movement that can set such an apparatus in motion, grind out tons of propaganda, circulate petitions, raise funds, and influence large groups of non-Communists to rally to the cause in the guise of preserving our civil liberties by protecting those who are dedicated to our destruction.

In arriving at any reasonable estimate of the effectiveness of CLIC in California one must realize that it is fighting to save the entire overt Communist organization from extinction. If the government prevails in its efforts to enforce the Smith and McCarran Acts the Party will be hauled out into the light. Its front organizations would then be designated for what they really are, and the massive propaganda campaigns would be exposed to public scrutiny as operations of the Communist Party. If the government prevails there will remain only the underground apparatus, forced to function under highly restricted conditions where contact with fellow travelers and the liberal mass organizations would be exceedingly difficult. The Party has discovered on more than one occasion that despite its retreat to carefully prepared underground positions, its vaunted security precautions are by no means air-tight.

The situation in which the Party found itself at the time CLIC was formed was probably the most perilous in its entire forty-four year existence. Not only have the three great upheavals thinned out the ranks, but most of the fiery old leaders are gone. Men like Alexander Bittleman, Max Bedacht, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Roy Hudson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Harrison George, and many like them have virtually disappeared from the scene. They are either inactive, deceased or disillusioned. Note, too, how the Communist bureaucrats have always been in the habit of perpetuating themselves in power. Browder and Foster ran the American Party ever since it donned its revolutionary long pants—and the rest were in power for years. It is difficult to replace them, and when men like John Gates and Howard Fast leave the Party in disgust and write books about their experiences, the jolt is severe.

Some of the more dedicated leaders, John Howard Lawson, for example, are still active but too old to work with much energy. There are few young Communists who can muster the energy and enthusiasm necessary to maintain the momentum that we saw in the late 30's or early 40's—but there are some, and they stand out above the others because of their intense devotion to the Party. They possess the rare organizing abilities, the talents in propagandizing, boundless energy and, above all, cling to a fanatic belief in the inevitability of a class struggle that Communism will eventually win.

In this perspective we must view the Party position, and we must realize that the remaining hard core is desperate and active in its struggle to survive. Thus CLIC, having assumed these responsibilities in California, is of extreme importance. That is why, despite their long records of activity, these experienced officers were chosen to operate this front, and that is why we have discussed it at such length. It is difficult to gauge its national influence, but we can make some fairly accurate estimates concerning its sphere of influence in California. It has raised funds, circulated propaganda, and enlisted a broad base of support from all liberal persons and organizations it managed to seduce. It persuaded fifty-two people to sign as initiators of a petition to the President of the United States, asking him to refrain from enforcing the law against the Communist Party; its newsletter was mailed regularly to about 452 persons in Southern California; it not only mailed its printed material to those who regularly received a newsletter, but to a selected list which we conservatively estimate to comprise 4,000 persons and organizations in California. In addition it sent materials to many people elsewhere who were also receiving similar propaganda from one or more of the comparable fronts in other states. CLIC is presently operating from its office at room 205, 1213 Highland Avenue, Los Angeles 38.

Some of the documents pertaining to CLIC are reproduced commencing on page 127.

OFFICERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES INFORMATION CENTER HAVE SENT THE FOLLOWING EXPRESSIONS OF THEIR PERSONAL OPINION TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY. THEY SUGGEST THAT YOU JOIN WITH THEM AND ALSO UNDERTAKE TO WRITE OR WIRE ON THIS CRUCIAL MATTER.

1. Although the McCarran Act is aimed ostensibly only at Communists and at those influenced by Communist thought, I believe that its application -- as President Truman warned in his great veto -- would open a 'Pandora's box' of repression against all dissenting opinion. To launch an era in which McCarthyism is officially endorsed would degrade American freedom in the eyes of the whole world. Please act judiciously. -- Hugh Delacy
2. The McCarran Act represents the greatest danger to freedom of belief and association since the notorious Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. May I remind you that President Jefferson did not apply these laws, but instead sought their repeal? That seems to me to be the only honorable and truly liberty-loving course for you to take in regard to the McCarran Act. -- Morton Newman
3. Mr. President: May I suggest that you read Thomas Jefferson's letter to Mrs. John Adams of Sept. 11, 1804, and follow his example in refusing to act on the Supreme Court's decision in the McCarran Act case. -- Reuben W. Borough
4. RESPECTFULLY URGE YOU REFRAIN FROM APPLICATION OF MCCARRAN ACT WHOSE CONSTITUTIONAL VALIDITY HASN'T BEEN FULLY TESTED. I BELIEVE IT'S CONTRARY TO BILL OF RIGHTS. -- Robert C. Travis

.....
Please hand this to an usher or mail it to:

Reuben W. Borough, chairman,
Constitutional Liberties Information Center
P.O. Box 368, Hollywood 28, Calif.

- ☒ I undertake to join with CLIC and its community groups to protest any action that may be taken under the McCarran or Smith Acts to limit the rights of all to freedom of thought, speech, association.
- ☒ I pledge that by November 18, 1961 (the date when the McCarran Act's registration provisions go into effect) I will send the sum of

\$ _____
to CLIC for its \$10,000 BILL OF RIGHTS FUND. I understand that the money will be used to publicize the truth about this danger to liberty and -- if need be -- to help defend any victims of these repressive laws.

NAME _____ PHONE NO. _____

ADDRESS _____

PLEASE RETURN TO: CLIC, 27, W. 7th St.

JOINT PROTEST MEETING

- 25 -

MC CARRANISM MUST GO

Hear: **MILTON ALVIN**
National Committee Member
Socialist Workers Party

ROSE CHERNIN
Executive Director Los Angeles
Committee for the Protection
of Foreign Born

FRANK PESTANA
Hollywood Attorney - Representative
Constitutional Liberties Information
Center (CLIC)

THESE PROMINENT LOS ANGELES FIGHTERS
FOR LIBERTY WILL EVALUATE ANALYZE
AND INDICATE HOW YOU CAN ADD YOUR
WEIGHT TO DEFEAT THIS FIRST LAW THAT
OUTLAWS A POLITICAL PARTY AND MAKES
MEMBERSHIP IN A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
A CRIME

SATURDAY, JULY 21ST 8:15 P.M.
FORUM HALL 1702 E 4TH STREET LOS ANGELES

DONATION: \$ 1.00 STUDENTS 50¢

AUSPICES:

MILITANT LABOR FORUM

BENEFIT: CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES INFORMATION CENTER (CLIC)

DEFEAT THE MCCARRAN ACT ——— FREE ITS VICTIMS

Socialist Workers Party

1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles 33, Calif
Angelus 9-4953

December 20, 1961

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES INFORMATION CENTER
Reuben W. Borough, Chairman,
P.O. Box 348, Hollywood 28, California

Dear Sir,

Enclosed you will find a copy of the December 11th issue of THE MILITANT. We would like to call your attention to the front page statement of Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Los Angeles Local of the SWP is most anxious to assist the work of your committee in its defense of the victims of the McCarran Act and efforts to combat the Act itself. There are many methods by which this may be possible. We would like to discuss these with you at your earliest convenience.

As a specific suggestion, we would propose a public meeting directed toward our members and supporters to hear a spokesman of the CLC. Some time early in January would suit our needs but if for some reason another time would be better we are open to suggestion and scheduling in agreement with the CLC.

We would suggest an early meeting to discuss the above proposals and any other matters pertaining to our giving assistance to the work of your committee. You can phone us at the above address or get local organizer, Oscar G. Coover, can be contacted at his home NG 3-3547.

Oscar G. Coover
Oscar G. Coover
Organizer,
Los Angeles Local

If YOU are a THINKING citizen Chances are . . .

You have "certain views" similar to those held by Communists

Your union activities have been considered too "radical"

You have been "too ardent" in defending integration

You are "unimpressed" with life in a fallout shelter

You reject rubber-stamp thinking as ordained by HUAC

You support organizations that work for social change.

If so, THE McCARRAN ACT IS HEADING YOUR WAY!

McCarranism is Today's McCarthyism

~~It seeks to incorporate in legislation what McCarthy tried to do through fear and~~
~~and self-incrimination by registration~~ **NEED NOT BECOME THE LAW OF THE**
LAND.

IT CAN BE STOPPED! when the people's rights were violate by the Alien and Sedition Acts, President Jefferson responding to mass public insistence, asserted his power and responsibility under our system of administrative checks and balances to "remit the execution" of the Acts.

President Kennedy can suspend enforcement of the McCarran Act until constitutional issues involving the First, Fifth and Eighth Amend-can be resolved.

**Write the President! Inform the People
Support Civil Liberties Committees!
Our Fight Has Just Begun!**

Funds are urgently needed for publicity and for legal aid
**THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES**

*is dedicated to the struggle against the Smith and
McCarran Acts.*

- Over 200,000 pieces of literature have been prepared and distributed at nominal cost or free of charge.
- Aid has been extended to individuals and groups who are opposing the McCarran Act.
- The Citizens Committee has undertaken the legal defense of victims of the Acts.

**CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES**
22 E. 17 St., Room 1525, N. Y. 3

- ☐ I enclose my contribution of \$
to help fight the McCarran Act
☐ Please send me a list of available
literature.
☐ Please put me on your mailing list.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

FRONT ORGANIZATION NETWORK

All of the other fronts in California devoted much of their time to assisting CLIC get under way. This was not difficult since at least one officer of each organization also held some official position in one or more of the others. The California Legislative Conference, 408 South Spring Street, Suite 315, Los Angeles 13, is an old front organization and has been run almost single-handed by Eleanor Raymond Wagner for several years. Its letterhead states that Thelma Bender is Administrative Secretary, and the members of the advisory board are: Robert W. Kenny, Horace Alexander, Reuben W. Borough, Dr. P. Price Cobbs, Ben Dreyfus, Pearl Fagelson, Dr. Carleton B. Goodlet, Alice Hamburg, Richard Lynden, Dr. Milton Z. London, Dorothy Marshall and Harold Orr.

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms was founded in 1952 to concentrate resistance against federal and state committees investigating Communist subversion. One of our agents, Mrs. Ruth Drader, testified that she attended a meeting on February 27, 1952, where Joe Joseph, national head of the gigantic cultural front, Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, declared that the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms was created for the purpose of attracting people not yet ready for some of the older fronts more obviously under Communist control.

Apparently this new front admirably performed the purposes for which it was created, for on September 21, 1959, according to the Government's *Guide to Subversive Organizations*, Dorothy Healey reported to the Party's Southern California District Council that "... the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also stated that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist Rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee," (*Guide to Subversive Organization and Publications*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., 1961, p. 44.)

Rev. A. A. Heist was the first chairman of CCPAF, and in 1954 Frank Wilkinson served as its secretary. Dorothy Marshall presided at many of the earlier meetings, and sometimes moved effortlessly from one front to another. For example, she presided at a meeting of CCPAF at Arlington Theater, 2517 West Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, on February 12, 1952, and at the time was also serving as president of Women for Legislative Action whose meetings Dorothy Healey occasionally attended. By 1961 Mrs. Marshall was chairman of CCPAF, and Frank Wilkinson was still its titular secretary, although his energy, dedication and organizing abilities had now created a demand for his services by other fronts, and he was spending much time in New York and Washington.

Raphael Konigsberg succeeded Wilkinson as secretary of CCPAF, was closely linked to CLIC, and attended several of its functions. Mr. Konigsberg attracted considerable attention several years ago when he refused to tell the California State Bar whether he was a Communist at the time he had successfully passed the Bar examinations and applied for admission to practice law in this state. The Bar denied him that permission, Konigsberg appealed, and won his case before the Supreme Court of the United States. The California Bar, for many years apathetic and timorous about dealing with Communists in the legal profession, now exhibited a new tough and stubborn attitude. They put the question to the recalcitrant Konigsberg again, and on his second refusal to declare whether he was a Communist, they again denied him permission to practice. But this time the refusal was based on a procedural principle on the theory that the applicant had no legal *right* to practice law in California, and his refusal to comply with the state condition precedent to being accorded the privilege of practicing empowered the State Bar to deny that privilege. This tough, persistent attitude won. The Supreme Court reversed itself, thereby establishing a precedent that our state boards and commissions can—and in our view should—utilize far more freely.

While Frank Wilkinson was still secretary, CCPAF sponsored a function at the Hollywood Athletic Club on June 4, 1955. The occasion was the presentation of a scroll to Linus Pauling by the late F. W. Weymouth. There were many non-Communists who signed the scroll, but the meeting was engineered by a Communist front organization that utilized mailing lists it had obtained from other Communist fronts, and among the signers were such familiar figures to readers of these reports as Morris Carnovsky, Frances R. Eisenberg, Clark Foreman, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, A. A. Heist, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Dorothy Marshall, Carey McWilliams, Harold Orr, Holland Roberts, Paul Robeson, Dalton Trumbo, and Frank Wilkinson.

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms has been operating out of an office at 4274 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 4, for many years. Dorothy Marshall is its chairman, and Raphael Konigsberg is its secretary. It is connected with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York, a nationwide organization that in 1961 was maintaining its Washington headquarters at the Carroll Arms Hotel, First and C Streets, Washington, D.C. Its Field Representative is Frank Wilkinson, 617 North Larchmont Street, Los Angeles 4, and its officers include Dorothy Marshall and Robert W. Kenny. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is primarily concerned in accomplishing the political demise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

During the late thirties and early forties, Konigsberg was employed by the State Relief Administration, then headed by William Plunkert, heretofore mentioned. In 1940 he was active in the American Peace Crusade, a Communist front, with Carey McWilliams, Philip M. Connelly and Don Healey; in 1947 he was a member of the Progressive Citizens of America with Dr. Murray Abowitz, Reuben Borough, Philip M. Connelly, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Ben Margolis, Daniel Marshall and Dalton Trumbo; in

1950 he was a member of the Arts, Sciences & Professions Council with Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Sanford Goldner, Daniel Marshall, Carey McWilliams, Dalton Trumbo, Harold Orr, Dr. Murray Abowitz, John Howard Lawson, Ben Margolis, Martin Hall and Peter Hyun; in 1953 he was a sponsor of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, with Peter Hyun, Robert W. Kenny, Sanford Goldner, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman and Daniel Marshall.

Independent Student Union

This group of young Marxists originated in 1959, its leaders having frequented a place called Pogo's Swamp, an establishment formerly located at 4308 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles, and now defunct. On November, 1960, Independent Student Union was being operated from 4471 Sunset Drive under the direction of Carl Bloice, one of its charter members and organizers and a former habitue of Pogo's Swamp. Bloice is now a staff reporter for the *People's World* in San Francisco.

The November, 1960, Newsletter mailed by Independent Student Union urged its members to attend the meeting on November 11 at St. Nicholas Greek Church, 2300 Third Street, Los Angeles, to hear Russ Nixon "... correspondent for *National Guardian*" and representative of the highly-infiltrated United Electrical Workers, urge the liquidation of the House Committee. Ben Dreyfus, then president of National Lawyers Guild in Los Angeles, was also scheduled to speak. This affair was sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

The Independent Student Union originated under concealed Communist direction, which steadily became more apparent as the organization became more active. The mailing list quickly expanded, and communication was soon established through members at various Southern California schools and colleges and with similar student groups elsewhere. These contacts included Los Angeles City College; UCLA; Reed College, Portland, Oregon; Marshall High School, Los Angeles; Los Angeles State College, Fairfax High School, Los Angeles; University of Southern California; Mt. Vernon Junior High School; Valley City College; Van Nuys High School; Pasadena City College; University of Mexico; Occidental Junior College; California Institute of Technology; Hollywood High School; University of California at Berkeley; San Francisco State College; Compton Junior College; Students League for Industrial Democracy, and Sarah Laurence Junior College, New York.

Since 1961 this youth group's membership and influence has been decreasing, and many members have affiliated with other organizations of a like nature. From 1960 through 1962 the Independent Student Union maintained contact with SLATE at the University of California in Berkeley and with SCOPE at San Francisco State College, sending representatives to their meetings and co-ordinating its activities with theirs, much as the adult Communist fronts. This makes for better mailing lists—the basic necessity of all these groups—and for a more effective program of agitation and propaganda. Although the active life of Independent Student Union was relatively short, and it has ceased to exist as a formidable front, its members still exert much influence and the centers it planted in many schools and colleges are still effective.

Committee of First Amendment Defendants

The passion for martyrdom on the part of some fervent Communists and fellow travelers was demonstrated in their resolve to test the availability of the First Amendment as a shield for subversive activity. The Fifth Amendment had already crumbled before their onslaught, and now they sought to gnaw away at the amendment that guarantees freedom of speech and of association.

As the test cases began and defendant after defendant went to prison, they were depicted as victims of "thought control," and gentle martyrs whose constitutional rights had been invaded. This, of course, provided magnificent material for propaganda, and a new Communist front was born: the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, P. O. Box 564, Radio City Station, New York 19. Its co-ordinator: William A. Price; its secretary: Frank Wilkinson.

Members of this group, according to the front's own publication (foreword by Dalton Trumbo) were: Carl Braden, Hugo DeGregory, Dr. Bernard Deutch, Pauline Feuer, Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, John T. Gojack, Rev. Edward T. Graham, Frank Grumman, Louis E. Hartman, Sidney Ingersman, Mary G. Knowles, Robert Lehrer, Herman Liveright, Rev. A. Leon Lowry, Arthur McPhane, Victor Malis, Harvey O'Connor, Martin Popper, William A. Price, Norton A. Russell, Alfred J. Samter, Peter Seeger, Robert Shelton, Bernard Silber, Elliott Sullivan, Sidney Turoff, George Fyne, Goldie Watson, Donald G. Wheelden, Alden Whitman, Frank Wilkinson and Edward Yellin.

Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

We have often mentioned this old and active front, and will not repeat its history here. It operates from Room 318, 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles. Co-chairmen are Charlotta Bass, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Robert W. Kenny, Dorothy Marshall and Stanley Moffatt. Rose Chernin, often identified as a Party member, has long been the executive secretary of this front. Its sponsors are: Jacob Aspiz, Jack Berman, Dr. Martin Borad, Betty Rottger, Belle Parsons Clewe, Sara Dorner, Sigmund Fargo, Charles Gladstone, Howard Goddard, Sanford Goldner, Morris Goodman, Dr. Wilbur Z. Gordon, Irwin Gostin, Marvin Grayson, Marian E. Herrick, Grover Johnson, John Howard Lawson, George K. Lee, Mary Legun, Rev. Hezekiah Lewis, Paul Major, Prof. George B. Mangold, Arnold Mesches, Elsa Peters Morse, Rev. John H. Owens, Prof. Linus Pauling, Rev. T. G. Pledger, Charles L. Rosin, Aaron Rothblatt, Norman E. Sayen, Rev. Harold E. Schmidt, Mauricio Terrazas, Prof. Frank W. Weymouth (deceased), and Frank Wilkinson.

The legal panel, consisting of lawyers who offer their services in behalf of those members of the Communist Party and fellow travelers who may become embroiled with the law and face being deported to the countries from which they originated, include: Robert Brock, John Crow, David Easton, Pauline Epstein, Aubrey Finn, Joseph Forer, Irwin Gostin, Melvin Kassan, Elsa Keivitz, Matthew Richman, Seymour Mandel, Frank Munoz, Maynard Omerberg, Frank Pestana, Jean Kidwell Pestana, Richard Petherbridge, John Porter, David Rein,

Mitchell Levy, Rose Rosenberg, William Samuels, Esther Shandler, and Herbert Simmons, Jr. Seymour Mandel, Frank Pestana, John Porter, Rose Rosenberg and Esther Shandler have all been identified by sworn testimony as members of the southern division of the Communist Party of California.

The American Russian Institute

Units of this Communist front organization are located in San Francisco and Los Angeles, the former having celebrated its thirtieth anniversary on Sunday, November 19, 1961. This particular day was picked because it was the 75th birthday of Rose Isaak, who has been secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco American Russian Institute since its inception. Aubrey Grossman, San Francisco lawyer, was the featured speaker on this occasion, the brochure announcing the event stated that he was fresh from "extensive spring and summer travels in the USSR during a round-the-world peace mission and attendance at the new Delhi meeting of the World Peace Council."

Grossman has devoted his entire adult life to furthering the cause of Communism. He was so earnestly pursuing his activities as a member of the Young Communist League while a law student at the University of California in Berkeley that, according to the testimony of one of his professors, his law studies suffered. He practiced his profession in San Francisco, became an officer in several Communist fronts, and finally came out openly as a functionary of the Party. He has taught in Communist schools, served in many official Communist positions, and completely subordinated his private life to that of the Communist Party, which in the Lenin sense of the term is the real definition of a functionary.

Holland Roberts was another speaker at the thirtieth anniversary function, and is president of the San Francisco American Russian Institute. For at least twelve years he and Rose Isaak have actually dominated its activities. The organization formerly had its offices at 101 Post Street, then moved to 150 Golden Gate Avenue, where it maintains a reading room and an extensive collection of propaganda. The supply of material is kept up-to-date, as the Communist Book Store at 1408 Market Street is within easy walking distance.

Mr. Roberts also ran the Communist School in San Francisco for several years, and has been identified as a Communist Party member by his former secretary. He was born in Springfield, Nebraska, moved to Illinois, and served with the U.S. Army at Brest when the Russian citizens were beginning to revolt as a prelude to the revolution of 1917, and Russian soldiers were deserting and joining the masses. In 1937 Roberts was president of the California State Federation of Teachers, and taught education at Stanford University from 1934 to 1944. The American Russian Institute was found to be subversive and Communist-controlled by the United States Department of Justice in 1949, and occupies a somewhat unique position in the Communist solar system of front organizations. It has always maintained intimate contact with prominent Soviet officials, and the San Francisco and Los Angeles units operate in conjunction with each other under the direc-

tion of the National Council of American Russian Friendship in New York City. Indeed, they contribute a part of their income to the parent organization, as Mrs. Isaak has regularly drawn checks payable to the order of the parent institution.

During the history of the Communist movement in the United States the Communist Party has maintained front organizations and conducted enterprises for the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Some of the more important of these fronts and enterprises have been Friends of Soviet Russia, Friends of the Soviet Union, *Soviet Russia Today*, Russian Reconstruction Farms, Open Letter for Closer Co-operation with the Soviet Union, Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief, American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, Russian War Relief, Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials, Open Letter to American Liberals, and the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.

The American Russian Institute interlocks in many ways with the American Council on Soviet Relations. This is strongly indicated by the official organ of the group, the *American Review on the Soviet Union*, previously published as the *American Quarterly*. According to its folder prospectus, distributed freely at meetings of the American Peace Mobilization, the American Russian Institute was founded in 1926 as the clearinghouse for "factual" information on the Soviet Union.

The peculiar status of the American Russian Institute is established by certain outstanding facts: (1) the description appearing in the August, 1941, issue of *American Review on the Soviet Union* (back inside cover) declares that "it aims to serve as an authoritative clearinghouse for actual information concerning the Soviet Union." (2) The April, 1940, issue of the *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*: (inside cover) declares that the American Russian Institute furnishes information to the Soviet Union. (3) Without official contacts, the writers for the organs of the American Russian Institute could not have access to the various sources of information in the Soviet Union.

Holland Roberts has made several trips abroad, and has been described by the San Francisco Institute as having been a "participant in peace conferences with Premier Khrushchev, Prof. John Bernal, Alexander Korneichuk, Boris Polevoi, Nicolai Tikhanov, Mikhail Kotov, and others, abroad, 1959, 1960, 1961, as a member of the Bureau of the World Peace Council."

We had occasion to interrogate Mr. Roberts several years ago about one of his visits to the Soviet Union, which he had described in public lectures as being a citadel for world peace, and showed him a photograph of himself taken in Russia in the process of exchanging autographs with graduates of the Lenin School of Political Warfare. Roberts refused to identify himself in this picture, which was an excellent likeness, on the ground that he would be incriminated. He also invoked the Fifth Amendment when given the name of a Soviet tank factory supervisor whom Roberts had publicly described as engaged in making tractors for peaceful pursuits.

During the course of his examination Mr. Roberts was also shown a document from Richard Morford, executive director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, sent to the witness, and bearing this notation "your careful examination of the annual report of the director is asked. Two other reports were submitted to the annual meeting and I enclose these. It is necessary again to caution that these reports are for your private information only. You will understand the reason." Roberts' response, when asked to explain this letter, was as follows:

"A. Well, that is much too direct an approach here.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): I meant it to be.

A. I decline to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me."

The Los Angeles American Russian Institute, 43112 Melrose, Los Angeles 29, has been sponsored by John T. McTernan, Pauline Epstein, Martin Hall, Sanford Goldner and John Howard Lawson. During recent years it has been quite inactive, but formerly played host to many Soviet dignitaries visiting in southern California. Some of these affairs were held in the First Unitarian Church, which under the ministrations of Rev. Stephen Fritchman has made its facilities available for such services and a wide variety of functions by Communist front organizations and, on rare occasions, by the Communist Party itself. In Los Angeles a Unitarian Church party was held in honor of Evdokia I. Uralova, minister of education for Tyelo of the Soviet Union; Xenia Gromyko, wife of Andrei Gromyko; Elizabeth A. Popova, Soviet Judge, and Ivan Tarisov, vice-consul of the USSR. Approximately 250 people attended this affair in 1948, after they had been honored at a private function held at the residence of Mr. John B. McTernan, who was then practicing law in the firm of Gallagher, Margolis, McTernan and Tyre.

For almost a year the Los Angeles unit of American Russian Institute has been inactive, but within the last few months has begun to show signs of life, occasional meetings being held once more at the headquarters and the volume of mail showing an appreciable increase. The San Francisco unit, under the capable direction of Holland Roberts and Rose Isaak, continues to function actively as it has for the past twelve years, and is one of the most important Communist fronts, and certainly the oldest, in northern California.

Holland Roberts, whose documentable record of Communist front affiliation dates from 1944, who has been trusted by the Communist Party to direct its educational institutions, who had made several trips to the Soviet Union and conferred with important Soviet officials, and who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by several witnesses who testified under oath, ran for election to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1958. He received almost 400 thousand votes, a commentary on the apathy of the voting public in this state concerning their elected representatives which speaks for itself.

Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party is commonly known as the Trotskyite division of the world Communist movement, and derived from the followers of Leon Trotsky, who was an apostle of the theory of permanent revolution. Until the death of Trotsky, who was assassinated by a member of the Soviet Secret Police in the summer of 1940, the Stalinists and the Trotskyites were bitter enemies, but this situation has gradually changed since Trotsky's assassination; and with the inauguration of the second united front movement that stemmed from Khrushchev's speech of February 1956, the Trotskyites and the orthodox Communists have been collaborating in several enterprises. We have already seen how the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party offered its services to the Constitutional Liberties Information Center in a common effort to prevent enforcement of the Smith and McCarran Acts, and since the organization is especially active in southern California, operating from 702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles 33, it merits some attention here.

Oscar Coover is the organizer of the movement in the South, its Militant Labor Forum is operated under the direction of Jeanette Shaw, and the Trotskyites have been operating a West Coast Vacation School since 1945 in the vicinity of Bear Lake, California. The school last opened on Saturday, September 1, 1962, and closed nine days later. The fee for adults was \$58.00, for juniors 11 to 14 years of age \$40.00, for children 5 to 10, \$32.00, and for those from 1 to 4 years of age \$10.00. Teachers and Lecturers included Milton Alvin, Oscar Coover, Theodore Edwards, Leslie Evans, Max Geldman, Evelyn Reed, Arne Swabeck and William F. Warde. According to a brochure issued by the Socialist Workers Party, the courses taught at the West Coast Vacation School in 1962 included "current political, cultural and scientific subjects of great interest to all those interested in the ideas of Socialism . . ."

Another educational undertaking by the Trotskyites consisted of a series of seminars entitled "The History of American Labor, from the Civil War to the Present," headed by Oscar G. Coover, given at Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, which commenced on November 25, 1962, and were scheduled to terminate on January 13, 1963. The sessions convened at 11 o'clock on Sunday of each week, and the entire series was conducted under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The eight seminar sessions were described in the brochure as follows:

"November 25: 'The beginning, 1865-1885,' concurrent with the western expansion of America, was the explosive expansion of our modern industrial society: Capitalism. A necessary and integral part of that process was the growth of the industrial working class. We will discuss the establishment of the first unions, their leadership, organizational forms, and the big strike movements of that period.

December 2, The Radicals and the Unions, 1886-1916. To have clarity and understanding, a student of American history must have a clear picture of the development of socialist thought on organization. This session will examine the Utopian Socialists and the Marxists and learn of their roles in the Haymarket Affair and the American Railway Union, the I.W.W., and the Western Federation of Miners.

December 9, The Unions in World War I, 1917-1921. War has always been the result of—and in turn has a profound effect—the movement of social forces. World War I was the big turning point of American capitalist development. How were the unions affected (sic) and in turn what role did they play in the World War I? The growth of the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs into a mass organization, industrial unionism, the first substantial cadre formation of worker-revolutionaries and the destruction of the I.W.W., the left wing split of the Socialist Party, the formation of the Communist Party for all of that period. This session will hear a special report from a leader of the Seattle general strike of 1918 and a left wing split of the Socialist Party, Ann Swaback, pioneer Communist, member of the general strike committee, national Committeeman, Social Worker Party.

December 16, Post War Reaction and Gomerism, 1922-1929. The Palmer red raids—the roaring 20's—labor in politics—The American century—what happened to the radical movement of World War I, craft unionism, the aristocracy of labor, successive defeats of the union movement, the impact of the Russian Revolution on the American working class.

December 23, The Minneapolis Strikes of 1934, 1930-1935. One of the most significant strikes of the tumultuous '30's was the Minneapolis teamsters strike of 1934. Beginning with a coalyard workers strike in January; continuing in a general drivers' strike in May, which was a standoff; culminating in an all-out effort on the part of both workers and employers in July-August, the union established a new era in midwest unionism. It is a classic demonstration of the role of revolutionists and the Revolutionary Party in class struggle movements. This seminar will hear a report from Oscar G. Coover, who as a teenager was a participant and observer of the development of this movement in Minneapolis. He was an intimate friend of the leadership of this movement.

December 30, The First Mass Radicalization and the Organization of the C.I.O., 1936-1939. The great depression following the stock market crash of 1929 had a profound effect on American workers. Between 1932 and 1937 more than ten million unskilled industrial workers built a new form of union, the Industrial Union. It brought masses of Negroes into the American trade union movement. These workers developed new tactics, new forms of struggle: flying squads, sit-downs, women's brigades, daily strike newspapers. This was the Roosevelt era and saw the development of the first substantial political organization of workers. This session will hear a special report on the organization of the Auto Workers Union by Ed Lewis, an active participant and a member of the auto union for more than twenty years.

January 6, World War II and the Unions, 1940-1945. The initial leap in strength of organized labor and the formation of the industrial unions was followed by the preparations for World War II. In this period paralleling the great strikes of organized labor were the movement of masses of unemployed workers. New tactics and stratagems were devised by employers to combat the unions and growing politicalization of the workers. The Smith Act and prosecutions of the Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis teamsters movement were forerunners of new ways to break unions. The session will hear a special report on the national strike of relief workers—1939, and the first Smith Act trial of 1940, by Max Goldman, who served two prison terms in these events and was a leader in the federal workers section of local 554 of the Teamsters Union, Minneapolis. Presently he is a national committeeman of the S.W.P.

January 13, The Cold War in Labor, 1946-1962, Conclusions and Perspectives. The past fifteen years of American labor have been years of Taft-Hartleyism, McCarranism, and other anti-labor legislation. Defensive battles against automation, legal repressions, and retreat. Labor officialdom tail-ending rather than leading. They have failed to support or join the Negroes' struggle for first-class citizenship. They are tied to democratic party politics—the party whose administrations have been the main architects and enforcers of reactionary laws. They are leading a movement in retreat and decline. Will this trend continue or will there be a new resurgence of American labor? What is and will be the role of youth, Afro-Americans? Is there any relationship between American labor struggles and the struggles of colonial peoples? Is there any contradiction between labor's struggle for better wages, hours, and working conditions and the struggles against war? Does organized labor have any responsibility to unemployed workers and disemployed youth? What is the role of revolutionists and the Revolutionary Socialist Party? This session will hear a special report by Milton Alvin, former C.I.O. organizer and labor journalist. He is currently a member of the national Committee of the Social Workers Party."

We have discussed these lectures at length, quoting from the brochure issued by the Socialist Workers Party, for the purpose of showing the sort of ideology which this organization follows, and also that its attitude toward the Smith and McCarran Acts is precisely the same as that of the orthodox Communist Party in the United States, thereby giving them a common ground on which to collaborate. Nevertheless, as will be seen, the basic ideological differences between these two Communist groups, the long and bitter hatred that existed between the followers of Stalin and the followers of Trotsky, the assassination of Leon Trotsky as the founder and leader of the Socialist Workers movement throughout the world, and particularly the Soviet Union's insistence on a course of peaceful co-existence as opposed to the Chinese Communist insistence on a course of permanent and violent conflict—all contribute to basic antagonisms between the two Commu-

nist groups. Curiously enough, Mao Tse-tung is now following precisely the same course as that advocated by Trotsky and insists that a ceaseless campaign of guerilla warfare be maintained against the non-Communist world, and the United States in particular, wherever its interest may be affected. The Socialist Workers Party, therefore, as followers of Leon Trotsky, who invented the theory of permanent revolution, are also inclined to follow the same theory as expressed by Mao Tse-tung. The American Communist Party, on the other hand, always subservient to the interests of Moscow, is now advocating its policy of peaceful co-existence.

We see in the bibliography that was issued in connection with this series of seminar studies, a list of eighteen books that are well worth mentioning here, because they unerringly disclose the course presently being followed by the Socialist Workers Party in this state. They are:

<i>TITLE</i>	<i>AUTHOR</i>	<i>PUBLISHER</i>	<i>DATE</i>
Dynamite	Louis Adamic	—	—
John L. Lewis	Saul Alinsky	Putnam	1949
Proletarian Journey	Fred E. Beal	Hillman-Curl	1937
Rise of American Civilization	Charles & Mary Beard	MacMillan	1955
History of the American Working Class	Anthony Bimba	International	1937
The I.W.W.	Paul F. Brissenden	Russell & Russell	1937
The First Ten Years of American Trotskyism	James P. Cannon	Lyle Stuart	1962
The History of American Trotskyism	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	1942
The Note Book of an Agitator	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	1958
Struggle for a Proletarian Party	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	1942
Socialism on Trial	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	1942
Eugene V. Debs	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	—
The I.W.W.	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	—
American Labor in Mid Passage	James P. Cannon	Pioneer	—
Unionism and Socialism	Bert Cochran	Monthly Review	1959
Writings and Speeches of E. V. Debs	Eugene V. Debs	—	1904
The Roots of American Communism	Theodore Draper	Viking Press	1957
I Speak My Own Peace	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	International	—

Two of these books, "Proletarian Journey" and "The Roots of American Communism," are distinctly anti-Communist. That is, they are highly critical of the orthodox world Communist movement, are entirely devoted to that organization, and have little or nothing to say about the Trotskyites. The fact that these two volumes are used in the seminar series is corroboration of the contention that very serious hostilities still persist between these two Communist groups. "Proletarian Journey", by Fred Beal, consists of the autobiography of a man who participated in a textile strike in North Carolina during the late 20's or early 30's. Beal, together with several other Communist agitators, was arrested for shooting a police officer, released on bail pro-

vided by the American Civil Liberties Union, then was persuaded to jump bail and seek refuge in the Soviet Union. Beal was an enthusiastic member of the American Communist Party when he left this country, but what he saw in the Soviet Union and described in his book filled him with such disillusionment that he returned to the United States, surrendered to the authorities, served a term in prison and spent the rest of his life fighting Communism. "The Roots of American Communism", by Theodore Draper, is a highly critical history of the radical element in the American Socialist Party, its development into the embryonic Communist Party of 1919, and the first few years of its activities. This book is written by a man who was an actual participant in the Party during this period, and who writes with great honesty and clarity. His book is thoroughly documented and has received much favorable comment from non-Communist critics and a tirade of abuse from the Communist Party. There are fourteen other titles listed in the bibliography for this series of lectures, but all of them are concerned with the lives of Socialist leaders.

The Trotskyite movement in California is small but highly vocal, and is not to be confused with the Socialist Labor Party, which is a purely socialist organization that is not based on the ideology of Marx and Lenin.

The Sobell Committees

Twelve years ago Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass and Morton Sobell were convicted of espionage against the United States. Sobell had been employed by the Naval Bureau of Ordinance with Mack Eltcher, Julius Rosenberg was employed as an inspector for the Army's Signal Corps, while Greenglass had access to important classified material in connection with the manufacture of our atomic weapons. He was the brother of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg. Sobell and the Rosenbergs were tried before the Federal District Court in the State of New York in March of 1951, the trial Judge being Irving R. Kaufman. The evidence showed that Sobell and Rosenberg, who had been classmates at college, tried to get one of the witnesses to steal official armament data for the Soviet Union, both during and after World War II, and David Greenglass testified on behalf of the Government concerning his espionage activity with both of the Rosenbergs and with Morton Sobell.

The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and executed in 1953; Sobell was sentenced to serve 30 years in the Federal Penitentiary, and David Greenglass was released from prison in November 1960. Morton Sobell is now in Atlanta Penitentiary and the various committees to obtain his release have been active ever since his conviction. We set these matters forth in our 1963 report because Sobell Committees are active both in Los Angeles and San Francisco. The Los Angeles Committee, as we have stated, functioned under the guidance of Widge Newman, who operated this front organization from her residence. In Northern California headquarters for the Bay Area Council of Sobell Committees is situated in Room 303, 345 Franklin, San Francisco, and is operated under the direction of Warren K. Billings, who has been its chairman for several years.

Billings was convicted with Tom Mooney for his participation in the detonation of a bomb in the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, served many years in San Quentin Penitentiary, and since his release has served on a variety of Communist fronts with individuals who are well-known to readers of these reports. They include: Daniel G. Marshall, the husband of Dorothy Marshall; John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Hugh DeLacy, Philip M. Connelly, Leo Gallagher, Earl Browder and Dalton Trumbo.

Activities in Northern California

In earlier reports we have described how the Communist Party of the United States had its inception at a Chicago convention of the Socialist Party in 1919, and a few years thereafter divided the United States into twenty Communist Districts of which California, Arizona and Nevada comprised District 13 with headquarters on Grove Street in San Francisco. The office was later changed to 121 Haight Street, and is presently located in the building at 942 Market Street. Nevada was dropped out of District 13 several years ago, because it was considered insufficiently important from a population and location standpoint, but the territory of Hawaii was added, and while District 13 is no longer a commonly-used term in Communist parlance, nevertheless the old organizational division still holds, and the affairs of California, Arizona and the State of Hawaii are administered from Party headquarters in Northern California.

After a few years, the Party began to inaugurate schools throughout the United States; open Communist institutions functioning under the name of Workers Schools. There was a Workers School in Los Angeles and one in San Francisco, and when Communist Party activities became so obviously subversive of the interests of the United States and so distasteful to the American people, the Party changed the names of these schools in the hope that they might thenceforth function more as front organizations than as integral parts of the Communist apparatus. Therefore the Southern California institution changed its name to People's Educational Center and the one in San Francisco became known as the Tom Mooney Labor School, later as the California Labor School, and continued to function under that title until it became so thoroughly exposed that it was declared Communist-dominated by the Subversive Activities Control Board and ceased doing business in 1957. Since that time there has been no central institution in the Bay Area where the elements of Communism might be studied. No institution, that is, until October, 1962, when the *People's World* announced that a San Francisco School of Social Sciences would be opened at 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco. This building is a Hallinan-operated structure that also houses the office for the Bay Area Sobell Committees.

Apparently the San Francisco School of Social Sciences took its name from the Jefferson School of Social Science that formerly existed in New York until it, too, was revealed as a Communist-dominated organization and closed its doors. The Jefferson School of Social Science started its first term in New York in February of 1944 at 575 Sixth Avenue. It was the result of a merger of two other educational institu-

tions which were under the control of the Communist Party, the Workers School and the School for Democracy. Among the instructors and guest lecturers were Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Robert Dunn, Abraham J. Isserman, Corliss Lamont, Vito Marcantonio, Harry Sacher, Morris U. Schappes, Howard Selsam and Nathan Witt.

The San Francisco School of Social Sciences will apparently be patterned closely after the New York institution, three of its faculty members having been mentioned in the Communist newspaper for October 13, 1962, as John Pittman, identified under oath as a Communist Party member in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, former foreign news editor of the *People's World* in San Francisco, and who, in 1944, was managing editor of that publication under the editorship of Harrison George, when the paper was being published at 583 Market Street by the Pacific Publishing Foundation. The owner of this institution was George R. Anderson, whose name appears in many of the reports we have published since 1943. James Forest and Joseph P. Morray are also listed as lecturers at this new Marxist institution. The former was a functionary of the Communist Party of Missouri, and the latter was a professor of speech at the University of California in Berkeley. Another instructor at the school, whose subject will be "Introduction to Marxist Economics," is Sidney Coonts, who was a member of American Youth for Democracy, which we have heretofore described as successor to the Young Communist League.

The public exposure that attended the last years of the California Labor School's existence is apparently making it difficult for its successor to attract many supporters. At the present time it is waging an intensive campaign to enroll students from the vicinity of the University of California in Berkeley, but many of these young men and women have resented being manipulated by a handful of Communists at the head of front organizations, and now realize that SLATE was following the dictates of a tough and experienced leadership, and the San Francisco School for Social Sciences has thus experienced considerable resistance to its blandishments.

Furthermore, as is the case with most Communist front organizations these days, it is very difficult to get sincere liberals to head this type of institution, and hence the Party is compelled to assign the chore to such well-known Communists and fellow travelers as the four who comprised the faculty when the school opened in October, 1962. Prof. Morray, incidentally, recently returned from Cuba where he was performing services for the Castro regime, and while at the University of California taught not only in the speech department, but also at the University Law School.

Further evidence of the popular front co-operation between the Trotskyites and the Communist Party of the United States is seen in the appearance of Frank Wilkinson at the Trotskyite Militant Labor Forum at 563 Sixteenth Street, Oakland, on November 16 of last year. Mr. Wilkinson praised Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan, saying that he had co-operated in endeavoring to accomplish the stifling of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but also said that he was forced

to note that student enthusiasm for Communist fronts and Communist propaganda was waning sadly. During the question period Mr. Wilkin-son was asked whether or not the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and association should be extended to protect the American Nazi Party, and his reply coincided precisely with the official position of the Communist Party as expressed in its monthly ideological publication, *Political Affairs*, and he replied that the First Amendment was perfectly proper to be used for the protection of Communists, but should not be extended to fascist organizations such as the American Nazi Party. Observed in attendance at this meeting was Brian Shannon, who heads the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of California in Berkeley. This is the youth organization for the Trotskyite movement, and plays the same role that American Youth for Democracy did to the Communist Party of the United States.

The Peace Movement

There is an unfortunate tendency to pin the Communist label on any radical organization with which one may disagree; and with the problems of racial integration, nuclear testing, domestic subversion, the Cuban crisis and cold war tensions in general, we have observed an abundant new crop of organizations that range all the way from those which, with circumspection and gentleness, campaign for peace to those that try to force their way into classified nuclear research installations and sail their frail boats defiantly into nuclear bomb-testing areas.

Some amateurs in the counter-subversive field insist that such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Committee for Racial Equality, United World Federalists and a variety of peace organizations are Communist fronts. The complete foolishness of this attitude is as dangerous and reprehensible as that which insists that everyone who joins a Communist front organization is necessarily subversive. And almost as foolish and reprehensible is the contention of the Communists who have the massive effrontery to insist that the Bill of Rights should be used to protect them but should not be available to those whom they term as fascist.

We have repeated many times that fronts are designed for the specific purpose of attracting non-Communists; that many fine people of unquestionable patriotism have, at one time or another, been lured into such a group. But the Communist Party will never permit its fronts to function unless they are tightly controlled by trusted and experienced leaders, who have always been in short supply. Thus, as the number of such seasoned organizers and propagandists decreases, one will inevitably find the same familiar contingent of Communists heading the fronts. The more experienced and capable they are the more voluminous their subversive records will be and, conversely, unless these veterans of the fronts are used, recourse must be had to inexperienced personnel, to the inevitable detriment of the entire propaganda, agitational and recruiting effort. Hence the real Communist fronts are more readily recognizable now than they have been since 1945.

Who are these experienced people who for years have operated the fronts in California? These reliable operators of fronts are Holland Roberts, Herbert Nugent, Merle Brodsky, Herbert Phillips, Roscoe Proctor, Walter Stack, Hugh DeLacy, Reuben Borough, Dorothy Marshall, Raphael Konigsberg, Robert Kenny, Martin Hall, William Bidner, Rose Chernin, Morton Newman, Robert Travis, and that indefatigable peer of them all—Frank Wilkinson.

This is by no means a complete list. There are many others who help run the Party fronts, but these are the big guns who have gone from one front to another, and some, like Dorothy Marshall, Hugh DeLacy, Robert Kenny and Reuben Borough, often work in several fronts simultaneously.

There are also leaders of the youth fronts with whom we should be familiar, and we will discuss them later in the section dealing with Communist youth activities.

We wish to make it very clear that simply because we mention these so-called peace groups, we make no implication that they are in any sense subversive. There has been a tendency of late by our more vocal critics to suggest that by mentioning anyone in our reports we make an inference that he must therefore be subversive. This is sheer nonsense, of course, for we certainly do not regard such individuals as J. Edgar Hoover, Thomas Jefferson, Phil Murray, George Meany, and scores of others mentioned in our reports as subversive, but this type of propaganda has had its effect on many people who should have known better.

We have said before, and repeat here, that *any* group Communists can use to further their purpose will be subjected to an infiltration effort. The present world Communist line is one of peaceful co-existence and all peace and disarmament groups will be natural objectives for infiltration. If any of them is so unsophisticated as to admit Communists, their organization will surely be converted into another front.

The Conrad Report

The Joint Legislative Committee on New School Building Shelter Facilities took some testimony from an organization known as Women for Peace, and on behalf of that committee Assemblyman Charles J. Conrad recently issued a statement giving his conclusions about the organization, which we deem most appropriate to set forth here. Assemblyman Conrad's statement follows:

"Since I have publicly criticized such organizations as the Women for Peace, I feel that I should make known to the membership of the Legislature, the press, and the public, the reasons that caused me to reach the unfortunate conclusion that the activities of this organization and those like it are not in the best interests of the United States. I find some of the testimony given to the Joint Committee on the Feasibility of Fallout Shelters in New School Construction by the Women for Peace inaccurate, and after researching those statements I feel that the inaccuracies are deliberate.

On January 29, 1962, in San Francisco the Committee heard testimony from, among others, Dr. Lucille Green, who said, 'I speak as a member of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Women for Peace of the East Bay Area,' which she describes as 'a spontaneous, grass roots movement for disarmament and peace,' and states, 'we women have done our homework,' and thereupon cites the numerous publications they have studied *including* Congressional Hearings.

With this background she testified as follows: '. . . and why assume an attack will be by *nuclear* weapons? It could as well be by chemical or biological weapons. In this case, according to former chief chemical officer of the U.S. Army, General Creasy, who apparently didn't hear the testimony here this morning, but wrote, nevertheless, in the *New Republic*, October 23, 1961, a very short time ago, that shelters would guarantee sure death.'

She then started to quote General Creasy's remarks about ventilating systems, at which point I asked her to yield for a question since I was familiar with General Creasy's remarks. Although I had advised her of this fact, Dr. Green insisted, 'Well, apparently from this *direct quote*, he is not convinced that fallout shelters will protect against chemical and biological weapons.'

Here are the facts: General Creasy did *not* write in the *New Republic* of October 23, 1961. A man named John R. Rague, of Massapequa Park, New York, quoted General Creasy *out of context* in a letter, which he directed to the *New Republic*, and it was published in their October 23, 1961, issue.

The statements of General Creasy taken out of context were from the report of the hearings before the Committee on Science and Astronautics, U.S. House of Representatives, on June 16, 1959, and the statement in question appears on page 6.

'Therefore, if we go around gearing up our Civil Defense with underground shelters, to protect against the atomic bomb, and instead of having the atomic bomb, when the guided missile comes over, it has a chemical or biological warhead, instead of saving people you are guaranteeing sure death or sure sickness or whatever effect the particular warhead is designed to produce.'

However, on the *same page* and in fact almost directly above the statement quoted (which is why I make the charge that the misinterpretation is deliberate) is the following sentence:

'However, it is certainly true that if we don't gear up to protect against a broad range of chemical and biological agents, we are inviting use of just this type of attack.'

Furthermore, in that same report (p. 22) General Creasy states as follows:

'It is my feeling if we are going to build underground shelters, then they must be equipped with the proper ventilating devices to insure that the chemical and biological agents don't get into them.'

Aside from such inaccuracies, the Women for Peace seem to have developed a mental block with regard to any information which might lead to a conclusion different from their policies. The strangest of their beliefs is that such defensive measures or shelters constitute, as Mrs. Frances Kinsley states, 'an aggressive act,' and the statement by Dr. Lucille Green: 'It could thus make our leaders and the Russians believe it would be politically "safe" to engage in war, and thus increase the likelihood of war.'

Obviously the U.S. Civil Defense is not 'an aggressive act' if the Soviet Union also is engaged in such activities. The mental block is demonstrated in the following testimony:

Assemblyman Conrad: 'Do you admit that the Russians have a Civil Defense program?'

Dr. Green: 'No, I do not.'

Assemblyman Conrad: 'You do not believe that they have?'

Dr. Green: 'I do not believe that.'

Here again, the ladies seem to have neglected their homework. For *Life* in its October 27, 1961, issue, under 'Events and Insights' has an article devoted to the book *Civil Defense in the Soviet Union* by Leon Goure.

Russia Is Ready With Fallout Shelters

'Mrs. Khrushchev's soothing statement recently that Russians are not building fallout shelters was accepted by most Americans because that was what they had been told all along. What Mrs. Khrushchev failed to say is that Russia has already built its shelters and already has a superior civil defense organization. This challenging revelation (to us) is made in a scholarly book, *Civil Defense in the Soviet Union*, by Leon Goure of the Rand Corporation. Russian civil defense efforts have never really flagged, says Goure, since World War II. Through the regular state machinery, civil defense discipline and information are handed down from the top echelons and soundly drummed into the masses. Since 1955, 64 hours of compulsory training have been given to everyone of some 30 million members of DOSAAF, an auxiliary organization of the armed forces. Trained even more intensively are the regular civil defense corps (MPVO), to which Mrs. Khrushchev's husband has boasted is more than 22 million strong. Training covers survival procedures not only for nuclear attack but for chemical and bacteriological warfare as well. An estimated 30 million gas masks have already been issued.'

To give another example, there are such Soviet publications as *Medical and Civil Defense in Total War*.

'There are references throughout the book—standby plans for the populace to take shelter in an attack and one statement refers to plans "to expand the network of existing shelters."'

Admittedly activities within the Soviet Union are shrouded in mystery, but other nations, who for generations have made a practice of military preparedness, have shown the ability to stay out of war. Switzerland is the traditional example but from a standpoint of civil defense the prime example is Sweden. If the Women for Peace consider the leadership of the United States eager to engage in a war with the Soviet Union because we are thinking in terms of fallout shelters, how do they reconcile such statements with the history of Sweden, which has probably the most complete system of civil defense in existence?

The Women for Peace have an explanation for that, too, Sweden is concerned only with fallout resulting from a war in which they do not intend to participate. Says Mrs. Frances Kinsley:

'If a nuclear war comes between the Soviet Union and the United States the Swedes expect that they will be caught in the middle of it.' And, 'it isn't the situation that we are confronted with here where a nation that is principally involved in any idea of future conflict will be constructing shelters for no other purpose than the expectation of war.'

Here again are the FACTS: the Swedish system has been widely presented to the American people through television programs, as well as a document entitled 'If War Comes,' which was issued in the name of King Gustaf Adolf by *Tage Erlander* from the Palace at Stockholm in May, 1961, and which has been translated for American distribution. The Swedish shelter system is *not* designed solely against fallout. Here is the description.

'*Standard shelters* are available in all large centers and apartment houses built *after 1945*.'

'Standard shelters offer the best possible protection generally available. They can withstand the buildings collapse and protect against gas and radio-active contamination. They ALSO protect against the effects of atomic bombs at some distance from the BLAST.'

Note that the Swedes are protecting themselves against a direct attack, not the fallout claimed by Mrs. Kinsley. And why? Herein is a Swedish report.

'Modern war is total. An aggressor will try by every means to make us surrender. Through *INVASION* . . . he will try to occupy the country. He will *ATTACK* military and civilian targets by air forces and rockets.' And, '*TOTAL WAR MUST BE MET BY TOTAL DEFENSE*. Sweden has the *will* to defend herself, *can* defend herself and *shall* defend herself.'

But worse than the misstatements of the Women for Peace is their defeatist attitude. One of these ladies, Mrs. Marion Powelson, describes herself as 'Mrs. Paul Revere.' This designation is unfortunate. The original Paul Revere alerted the American people to an enemy against which they took courageous action. Mrs. Powelson, setting herself up as a military strategist, makes this amazing statement.

'In the Army when a battalion has lost *only ten percent of its men*, they consider it useless and it is pulled back.'

The record of American units which have fought on to victory with casualties running over fifty percent is something Mrs. Powelson apparently has never heard of. But an even more amazing statement of defeat appears later on.

'Do you know about the wolf? When the wolf is frightened he fights as hard as he can, then if defeat draws near, he stands suddenly and exposes his jugular vein to the opposition.'

Presumably then, America will offer her throat to the Soviet threat. How can anyone express such an attitude after our record of fighting against Hitler's threat to take over the world? Again Dr. Lucille Green gives the answer of the Women for Peace: 'the times have changed.' And, 'nobody would win a war.'

How can any American, living in what is still the most powerful nation in the world, make such statements when the ruler of tiny Sweden has the courage to say:

'International law permits free (or guerilla) warfare . . . the enemy shall never be left in peace, but must be harassed all the time by raids against headquarters, vehicle columns, military camps, stock, etc.'

I recognize the difficulty of criticizing any group—especially a women's group—supposedly devoted to something which is near and dear to us all, namely, the idea of peace. I would, I think, be more charitable in my own statements if it were not for the viciousness . . . coming strangely from Women for Peace . . . with which they describe persons who hold conflicting views. Thus, we find Mrs. Marion Powelson describing their opposition in the following terms:

'Calculations of this sort seem to delight the type of mind hidden under headbones labeled Edward Teller and Herman Kahn. These minds, I can't call them truly human . . .'

Has Mrs. Powelson, in her bitter denunciation of Edward Teller, forgotten his background? Here is a man, Hungarian born, whose native land has known the terror of both Fascism and Communism, who was one of those who aided America in her war against Nazi tyranny. *Why* is he denounced when he urges us to protect ourselves against Communism?

An even more frightening aspect with regard to the Women for Peace is that they will not state firmly and unequivocally that they will support the use of American armed might if their compassionate appraisal of the Soviet Union is in error . . . If America wakes one morning to find herself facing a Pearl Harbor of atomic bombs delivered by the Soviet Union.

For example, the 'homework' of the Women for Peace includes an article entitled 'Let's Stop the Fallout Shelter Folly' by William L.

Shirer, which appeared in *Good Housekeeping*. Even that article contained this statement:

'Obviously there is a point at which we would choose to risk extinction itself rather than to face living as slaves of a barbarian conqueror.'

However, when *this* part of the article is quoted to the Women for Peace, they equivocate. They refuse to say 'yes, if that were the case, we should fight.' Instead they come up with such evasive replies as: Dr. Lucille Green: 'There is a point at which we must *resist*. We must resist in a way that will be effective.'

Again, compare such weasel words with the firm resolve of the Swedes.

'The enemy shall never be left in peace . . . free (guerilla) warfare prepares and expedites final liberation . . . you fight with your life at stake; but remember that so do the soldiers at the front and the men in the free war . . . *Collaboration with the enemy is high treason* . . . Help your fellow countrymen . . . Go on fighting relentlessly.'

Those who disagree with the suicidal policies of such organizations as the Women for Peace are usually charged with advocating a preventive war. An excellent answer to that was given by General Creasy:

'I think I disavowed any intention of talking about preventive wars. But you prevent wars by occupying a position, a posture, if you will, as well as a position, that makes it undesirable for other people to start wars with you. Your posture is the thing that keeps them from wanting to slug it out with you. But your relative position must also be maintained. If you permit them to push you further back into a corner, whether he does this geographically or financially, you have lost the war.'

I realize that individual members of these so-called 'peace groups' may be sincerely in error or drawn to these organizations by such personal tragedies as the death of a son in the last war. But, a study of their *policies* and their *statements*, with all the inaccuracies and evasions contained therein, convinces me that *somewhere* within such groups are forces that give aid and comfort to our enemies . . . forces bent on making our nation so weak as to invite the very attack the Women for Peace say must never occur.

CHARLES J. CONRAD''

Women's International Strike for Peace

The founder of Women's Strike for Peace, now known as Women's International Strike for Peace (WISP) is Mrs. Dagmar Wilson of Washington, D.C. According to a Fact Sheet issued by Women's Strike for Peace, Box 69611, Los Angeles 69, the movement began in September of 1961 when some Washington women wrote to their friends, urging that their common concern for mankind be expressed to public officials. About a month later the movement was under way. "Each local group is completely independent and free to act as it chooses,"

states the Fact Sheet, "in large cities there may be many small groups. There is no national organization, no membership, no dues, no board; women stay in touch informally and raise their own funds locally for local projects."

In February, 1962, the Southern California group of WISP started a lecture series to be held at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, 2936 West Eighth Street, of which Stephen H. Fritchman is pastor. The lectures were to be held in the Starr King room of the church, and commenced on February 19, closing on May 7th. Four of the lectures were devoted to a study of Russian Communism as compared to Socialism in our own system of government.

Leaders of WISP testifying before a Congressional Committee in Washington, stated recently that their movement was, indeed, open to the Communists and all others who were interested in peace. Obviously, the Communists would be foolish to pass up such an unparalleled opportunity, and they are far from foolish.

In June, 1962, the Los Angeles WISP Working Committee issued the following statement:

"The future of WISP will, in our opinion, depend on the open and honest discussion of the issue (or really the non-issue) of Communist influence in WISP and on the conclusions to which we come.

Our observation is that peace groups rarely confront this problem at a meaningful level but tend to perform the kind of mindless ritual expected of them. The usual strategy is first to assure the critics that there are no members of the Communist Party working in the group. None of the critics believe *that*, of course. These assurances having failed to still the criticism, the group then delivers a couple of sacrificial victims or self-appointed martyrs to appease the contemporary gods. Now the critics are convinced that *they* were right all along. These tactics having failed to make the group acceptable to the opposition, and all the energies of the membership having been dissipated in personality clashes masquerading under the guise of the Communist issue, the group either settles down to its self-imposed role as an emasculated critic of the Establishment or disintegrates altogether.

Thus do we carry out the work of the opposition all by ourselves.

If the decision of Turn Toward Peace (another and separate peace group) is to question the acceptability of any group to work for peace and disarmament under its banner, this only serves to continue the existence of the non-issue of Communist influence in the peace movement and to reinforce the strength of those who either do not know what the real issues are or who prefer to avoid them because they fear that the United States can develop no policy to meet them.

In that case we believe that WISP must reject this self-defeating action on the part of Turn Toward Peace.

We also believe that WISP must not make the error of initiating its own 'purge.' We must ask ourselves this question: If there are Communists or former Communists working in WISP what difference does it make?

We do not question one another about our religious beliefs or other matters of personal conscience. How can we justify political interrogation? We must ask ourselves the question: what difference does it make?, and be able to answer in deed and work: none. It will take courage to do this and others have not had it—but we cannot count upon the courage of others if we have not courage ourselves. . . ”

On Saturday, June 16, 1962, Women for Legislative Action held a luncheon at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, and to honor a guest for services to World Peace, and the guest of honor was Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, founder of Women's International Strike for Peace.

In the Bay Area the *San Francisco Examiner* for May 21, 1962, carried an article devoted entirely to Communist infiltration of Women for Peace, stating:

“Scores of well-intentioned, and dedicated women throughout the Bay Area and in major cities elsewhere have been made the dupes of known Communists and left-wing sympathizers operating openly and behind the scenes in the much publicized Women for Peace demonstrations.

These allegedly ‘spontaneous’ demonstrations have for the most part been pre-conceived and organized by Communists and their supporters.

Many housewives and mothers, sincere in their contributions of time and money for what they have construed as a worthy cause, are totally unaware of the influence wielded by the Commies and their cohorts.

The record is clear. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party and guest speaker at a recent May Day Rally here, was asked about her party's role in Women for Peace.

‘These demonstrations are wholly spontaneous,’ she said. ‘Outside of one or two women who are known to me, I have never heard of these women who are leading the peace demonstrations.’

Pressed on the question of co-operation afforded by Communists, Mrs. Flynn replied: ‘Our women, of course, participate.’

The role of the active and pro-Communist in Women for Peace is more than routine participation. They are calling the shots. Dorothy Ray Healey, an admitted Communist, rose from a young Communist league functionary to the Party's chairmanship in Los Angeles. Almost immediately upon her return from the Communist National Convention held in New York, in December, 1959, Mrs. Healey was keynote speaker at a Communist convention in Los Angeles. She outlined Party policy as formulated in New York. It called for the immediate infiltration of legitimate popular front organizations and peace groups such as the Friends Society (Quakers), SANE, HELP, and others. Women for Peace had not yet come into being.

The Communist infiltration program in Southern California was actuated through Reva Mucha, also known as Mrs. Eugene Zwolinski. Now an American citizen, she was born in Russia in 1905 and presently is a member of the Communist District Council in Los Angeles. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in recent executive sessions, heard sworn testimony linking Reva Mucha and other known Party members and pro-Communists to Women for Peace. In the bay area, Reva Mucha's counterpart is Jean Kramer, also known as Jean Webster. She is the wife of Harry Klotz-Kramer, former executive with the *People's World*. She, too, was a Young Communist League functionary. Immigration officials charged her with becoming a Communist following her entry into the United States. She lost her appeal and was ordered deported on November 18, 1958. She is still here. The State Department has not yet effected her deportation. The Kramer woman was a local delegate to the National Assembly for Democratic Rights (a Communist front organization) held in New York last September 23rd. During this assembly plans were solidified for nationwide, 'spontaneous' Women for Peace demonstrations.

Mrs. Kramer brought back the word. Instructions covering the scope and mechanics of Women for Peace demonstrations were placed high on the agenda at Communist cell meetings here, in the East Bay and on the Peninsula.

The first big show was staged in front of the Oakland City Hall on November 1, 1961. Some ninety women participated. Of the total, thirty-two were recognized as actual Communist Party members or as members of various pro-Communist organizations. One high echelon functionary of Women for Peace, prominent at the Oakland demonstration, is a member of the East Bay Co-ordinating Committee, a 19-member body which included Frances Tandy and Maud Russell, identified as Communist Party members. It is perhaps significant that all of the women faculty members of Oakland City College were excused from teaching assignments to attend the demonstration. Like most of the sincere housewives and mothers joining Women for Peace, they had no idea they were rubbing elbows with known Communists. Some of the participants were assigned to buttonhole specific civic officials for a public declaration on where they stood on nuclear tests. Simultaneously, others were assigned to question Berkeley City officials.

On the night of November 1, a few hours after the Oakland and Berkeley demonstrations, a Women for Peace Rally was held in the Willard Junior High School Auditorium in Berkeley. Reports were given on the attitudes expressed earlier in the day by civic officials. Those who had spoken out against nuclear tests were praised. Those contrary-minded were castigated and ridiculed. One report that a member of the Berkeley City Council had asked if a woman behind the movement had been cleared by the F.B.I. drew hoots of derision from a large segment of the audience. Little wonder, considering some of those present.

In attendance were Merle Brodsky, Alameda County Communist Party functionary; Helen Lima, wife of Mickey Lima, local titular head of the Party and mother of Margaret Lima, a member of the executive committee of the Student Women for Peace at the University of California; Yetta Land, a charter member of the Party from 1919; Matt Crawford, a Party functionary in Berkeley; Virginia Jencks, wife of Clinton Jencks of the celebrated Supreme Court Jencks decision; Frances Tandy, who has been identified as a Communist Party member. Also Jessica Mitford (Decca) Treuhaft and her attorney husband, Robert Treuhaft, both identified as Party members; Mrs. Billie Wachter, whose husband, Sol, and son Douglas, were delegates to the Communist National Convention in St. Nicholas Arena, New York in December, 1959, and both of whom were subsequent adverse witnesses before the HUAC here in May, 1960, at which Douglas was a participant in the City Hall riot, and William Mandell, radio commentator, who has been identified as a one-time Party member.

Also Dave and Roberta Hipolita, both of whom have been identified as Party members; Bernice Kalman, Party member who once worked as an office girl in Oakland Communist Headquarters.

The 'Women's Strike for Peace,' from which the Women for Peace is derived, originated with Mrs. Dagmar Wilson of Washington, D.C. She is a children's book illustrator whose husband, a native of England, is attached to the British Embassy in Washington. She does not have a Communist record. Mrs. Wilson is credited with having originated the idea of sending 51 women from 15 states on a flight to Geneva to buttonhole diplomats at the disarmament talks. On April 17, Mrs. Wilson made her official report on the pilgrimage to Geneva before the Guardian Forum in the Hotel Diplomat in New York City. The Guardian Forum was held under the auspices of the *National Guardian*, a publication cited as a Communist front periodical. Among the 5 Bay Area women who were sent to Geneva as Women for Peace delegates, financed in the main from contributions from sincere housewives, was Mrs. Emily Vernon Lewis. Who is Mrs. Lewis?

It was in the auditorium of the Washington Grammar School in Berkeley on November 8 that Mrs. Lewis was nominated as a Geneva delegate. The nomination was made from the floor by Jessica Mitford (Decca) Treuhaft, mentioned above as having been identified on various occasions as a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Lewis accepted the nomination, which, considering the complexion of the assemblage, was tantamount to election.

The wife of Dr. Rubin M. Lewis, Mrs. Lewis in 1954 served as treasurer of the 'Trust Fund for Velde Committee Victims,' cited as a Communist front organization. Long active in student affairs, Mrs. Lewis last year became vice-president of the Albany-Berkeley P.T.A. Council. Last October 5, she appeared before Berkeley public school authorities and demanded that a permit previously granted for use of a school auditorium for an anti-Communism forum be rescinded. It was not.

On October 14, she took to the air (station KPFA, Berkeley) to lash out in a speech titled 'Facts About Communism,' a pro-Communist presentation. In the November, 1961, issue of the *Liberal Democrat* Mrs. Lewis authored an article denouncing the 'Communism Series in Berkeley,' a series of lectures exposing the Communist conspiracy in America. The article intimated that the Berkeley Board of Education had unwittingly been duped into permitting, at the adult education level, what amounted to 'another Christian Anti-Communist School' of the Dr. Fred Schwarz type. She also questioned the qualifications of the various speakers conducting the series and cited their general lack of teaching credentials.

Mrs. Lewis was one of the organizers of the Women for Peace trip to Sacramento on February 6, during which the 'delegation of housewives and mothers' called upon Governor Brown to protest nuclear testing. With Mrs. Lewis was Ketty Johnson, long identified as the head of Communist Party activities in Marin County. Ketty Johnson wore a white dove of peace on her left shoulder.

On March 10 there was a Women for Peace demonstration in front of the Western Union office at 740 Market Street, which culminated in the dispatch of a telegram to President Kennedy protesting nuclear tests. It was not a mere coincidence that professionally-made signs used by the picketing demonstrators were delivered in a car registered to attorney Aubrey W. Grossman, of San Francisco, who long ago was identified as a member of the Communist Party.

On April 2 at the Golden Gate Park Concourse a Women for Peace Rally was held to hear a report on the Geneva pilgrimage. Among the assemblage of 1200 persons, most of whom were dedicated pacifists, were more than three score hard-core Communists, pro-Communists and chronic leftwingers.

Also present were a score of younger demonstrators, some bearded and others wearing sandals or black stockings in the typical beat fashion, whose faces have become familiar over recent months. They are to be seen at every public demonstration that serves the Communist conspiracy. One month it may be an anti-HUAC demonstration and the next month a display by 'Friends of Castro' or 'Fair Play for Cuba.' They are the same individuals who made up the bulk of the Chessman demonstration at San Quentin. A few of them were to be seen in the Women for Peace demonstration at the Federal Building on April 25.

By coincidence, this demonstration preceded by one hour the anti-HUAC Rally at Civic Center Plaza. Many of those who were picketing in the interest of peace one moment were carrying signs denouncing the Congressional Committee the next. Wherever and whenever they are needed they respond to carry out the bidding of the Communist conspiracy.

One gray haired matron who said she was '68 years old and proud of it,' was asked how she happened to be participating in the Women for Peace demonstration. 'My sister telephoned me from Berkeley,' she replied. 'She should be here any minute. She

got a phone call yesterday from somebody who told her to bring two other women with her. I was supposed to bring two women with me, but I couldn't get anyone to come.' The gray haired matron was no Commie, nor even a leftwinger. Nor was she a member of any legitimate pacifist organization. She, like her sister who responded to a telephone call from a total stranger urging 'unity for peace,' sincerely believed that banning of nuclear tests by President Kennedy would result in lasting peace.

She was the epitome of so many dedicated individuals who, however unwittingly, are furthering the Communist conspiracy through participation in Women for Peace demonstrations."

Harper's Magazine for March, 1963, page 48, carried an article by Midge Decter, describing a typical meeting of WISP as follows:

"... they were opposed, they said, to unilateral action on the part of the United States; as for missile bases, they were against these all over the world; and they demanded that the Cuban question be brought immediately before the UN. They were demonstrating, as one of them explained, to help prevent a possible 'nuclear holocaust.'

In framing their proposals they had not seemed to find it necessary to consider either what Khrushchev was up to or whether the UN could in fact, as it had never done before, effectively settle a dispute between the Soviet Union and the United States. What they seemed mainly concerned to do was to register a protest against the dangers of the situation and to insist that these dangers must become the foremost consideration of American policy. This peculiar combination of energetic determination to act, political vagueness, and maternal emotionalism has characterized most of the activities of Women's Strike for Peace."

"... Many of the women participating were already active members of established peace groups, like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, or SANE. A large number gravitated toward the women's strike from other liberal causes, such as civil rights and school desegregation. Many of the women, on the other hand, had never before been involved in anything more far-reaching than the local P.T.A. Very few had taken part in any public demonstration."

"... the most decisive advantage lies in the fact that if there is nothing to join and nothing to sign, there are no official policies to approve or disapprove and therefore no internal dissension—such as that which nearly tore SANE apart a few years ago when its national board required an anti-Communist declaration for all participating groups."

The Women's International Strike for Peace has participated in a type of demonstration that has become popular with these groups both in this country and abroad: Walks for Peace. Wednesday, March 7, 1962, WISP organized a peace walk from MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, thence west on Wilshire Blvd. to No. 3325, which is the office of the Atomic Energy Commission, where the participants were instructed to remain on a vigil until 3 p.m.

Although WISP publicity has been somewhat remiss in neglecting to emphasize one important aspect of its development, we wish to make clear that the original concept of this movement was prompted as a protest against Soviet resumption of nuclear weapons testing in violation of its agreement to a moratorium.

Naturally, Communist participants in WISP demonstrations will never be observed picketing Soviet diplomatic establishments, but will avidly avail themselves of the invitation to co-operate with WISP in demonstrating against our own establishments.

The incredible naivete of WISP is observed in a cable to Nina Popova, Soviet Women's Committee, 23 Pushkin St., Moscow, dated March 3, 1962:

"We address ourselves to the Soviet Women. We are demanding that our government carry on negotiations until disarmament agreements are reached. We are urging our government not to resume nuclear testing. We call upon you to make the same demands of your government. With warm regards, Los Angeles Women's Strike for Peace."

During the Easter season of 1962 WISP members participated in a demonstration that took the form of another Walk for Peace, this one 70 miles in length. It was organized by the San Diego unit of another organization known as Turn Toward Peace, 149 Eleventh Street, Del Mar, California. The marchers were instructed to assemble at Crystal Pier, Pacific Beach, on April 20, and walk to Mt. Helix. Short stops were scheduled enroute, and arrival at the destination was set for Easter morning, April 22. Participating in this walk were: Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), Committee for Student Action, Friends Meeting House of La Jolla, San Diego Peace Co-ordinating Committee, San Diego Turn Toward Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Friendship, and Women's International Strike for Peace. The national headquarters of Turn Toward Peace is Box 401, New York 3, N.Y.; headquarters in California is 1730 Grove St., Berkeley 9, and there is an office in Washington, D.C. at 245 Second Street, N.E. The Walks for Peace are conducted in a quiet and respectful manner by WISP. A typical set of instructions, issued in connection with the vigil at the AEC headquarters in Los Angeles, reads as follows:

"We leave for AEC headquarters at 11:00 a.m. Walk in pairs and next to the curb so as not to hamper traffic. Don't cross streets against the light. Do not allow yourself to become engaged in conversation. Refer questions to monitors. Remember: this is a silent vigil for peace."

During 1962 WISP was busy in Southern California, as well as in the Bay Area. In the south, on March 12th, Stanley Sheinbaum, from the Center for Study of Democratic Institutions (formerly the Fund for the Republic), delivered a lecture in connection with the WISP discussions for peace at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles at 8:00 p.m.; on March 12th Donald Keys from the UN mission and New York SANE office was to visit Los Angeles, and members of

WISP were urged to call the SANE office at Los Angeles, OL 5-9784, to arrange to hear him or have him speak to a group of WISP members; on March 23rd to 25, two A-bomb survivors from Hiroshima, who were enroute to the Peace Conference in Geneva, would speak at the University Methodist Church at 817 West 32nd St., Los Angeles, and WISP members were urged to attend; on April 6th and 7th the Whittier American Friends Service Committee Conference was held, and the members were urged to go and hear addresses by Erich Fromm, and others; on April 8th, "Juggernaut," a program based on a special issue of *The Nation*, edited by Carey McWilliams, would be staged by HELP, presented by Turn Toward Peace, and staged in the Pasadena Civic Auditorium at 8:00 p.m. Members were urged to procure their tickets from the HELP office in Los Angeles for a dollar each.

Early in March, 1963, three hundred representatives of the Bay Area Women for Peace met in Sacramento and conferred with Governor Brown and members of the legislature; on April 13, 1963, WISP in Los Angeles started another Peace March along Wilshire Boulevard from MacArthur Park to Pershing Square, and for the first time picked up a sizable contingent of hecklers, many of them students carrying derisive signs. Since April, WISP and its affiliate organizations throughout the state has continued to hold peace marches, silent vigils, conferences with elected officials, to lecture on current events such as the series held in the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, and pursue a policy of welcoming members of the Communist Party to assist in their crusade.

We have mentioned the Independent Student Union, and stated that although it has been inactive since 1962, many former members are still attending schools and colleges and have taken their Marxist orientation into other movements.

Charles Berrard was a member of the executive board of the Independent Student Union, and handled much of its publicity. A few months ago he began to contact many of his former associates with the following letter:

"Students Strike for Peace

"The threat of nuclear annihilation looms as the strongest challenge to our generation. Man has reached the point where he must return to sanity. Policies which can lead to total destruction are no longer acceptable to thinking young people.

We, students of the Los Angeles area, hold that it is imperative that action be taken on this issue. We feel that a demonstration of our desire for peace is crucial. For this reason we have designated December 13, 1961, as the 'Students Strike for Peace Day'.

It is our hope that on this date students throughout the nation will join together to give voice to demands for:

1. An end to all forms of nuclear testing and war preparations *everywhere*.
2. Complete and total disarmament through negotiations.
3. *Concrete actions* by our government towards these ends.

Your support of these demands will maintain unity on a national level.

To insure unity, we have established the following general program, subject to variations as conditions on each campus require. Strikes will begin between 10 and 11 a.m. We encourage students to walk out of their classes or simply not attend them, as they so choose. Maximum participation will probably (sic) occur during the noon hour, and this should be taken into account in planning them. Strikes, wherever possible, should be extended into the afternoon. Faculty members are to be urged to take part in the Strike.

Demonstrations may be in the form of rallies with speakers, picket lines, assemblies, marches, or any combination of the above.

Our voices will not be neglected. We, as young people have a responsibility to live beyond our diplomas. This letter has been sent to colleges and universities in over twenty states. It is our purpose as students to join hands with other demonstrators in the United States, and with people throughout the world, in their growing demands for peace.

We further suggest that you contact other groups in your area that you feel would be interested in taking common action with us.

For further information please contact Los Angeles Students Strike for Peace Committee, 4457 Lexington Ave., L.A. 29. No. 37302.

Fraternally yours,

Charles Berrard, chairman, LASSPC."

It will be noted that although Berrard is still active in student peace movements, the foregoing letter was circulated while Independent Student Union was at the height of its activity, thus enabling him to circulate not only the members of ISU, but the wide contacts the organization maintained with other student groups throughout the country.

The Student Peace Union's *Peacemaker*, Vol. I, No. I, made its appearance in January, 1963, declaring that the group was new to California, but was started at the University of Chicago three years ago. Since its inception SPU has grown into a national movement of 4,000 members on at least 125 college and high school campuses.

In the Southern California region there are chapters at UCLA, Los Angeles City College, Valley State College, and a number of high schools. Other chapters are in the process of being formed, according to the *Peacemaker*, at USC, El Camino Junior College, West Los Angeles High School, University of California at Riverside and Santa Monica City College.

SPU's activities have included distribution of literature on the UCLA campus protesting against the House Committee's investigation of Communist infiltration of Women's International Strike for Peace. This issue of the *Peacemaker* indulges in some anti-HUAC propaganda on page 3, under the heading: "WISP vs. HUAC: Innocense (sic) Victorious," in which it ridicules the Congressional Committee, minimizes the danger of subversive infiltration, and describes in scornful terms what it conceives to be the utter defeat of the Committee by the ladies of WISP.

The other article on page 3 is headed "End the Draft," a sentiment which naturally permeates the thinking of draft-age peace marchers. This, combined with demonstrations against all preparedness programs by the government, and a tolerance of Communism, is characteristic of most of the youth-for-peace groups.

The address of Southern California headquarters of Student Peace Union is P.O. Box 36525, Los Angeles 36.

There are many other student peace groups, usually small and autonomous. They join in demonstrations such as vigils and marches that are started by the larger organizations, and are almost invariably absorbed by them.

Some Student Peace Union followers received a rude jolt to their idea that one could do business with the Communists when they attempted to demonstrate in Moscow with banners bearing the insignia of SPU, demanding an end to both American and Russian atomic weapons testing. San Francisco newspapers carried photographs of the incident in their issues of July 14, 1962, the San Francisco *Examiner* accompanying the photograph with the following comment, which we believe worthy of inclusion here since it highlights the stark difference between the treatment of such demonstrators in a totalitarian country and in the United States.

"Outraged Soviet citizens—including plain-clothes police—ripped anti-nuclear banners from the hands of some twenty Western peace demonstrators Friday in Red Square.

Used to demonstrating freely in their home countries, the would-be ban-the-bomb demonstrators were shaken up by the tough Russian action.

'I had not expected this. I thought they would talk to us,' said bearded Wayne Mills, 25, of Saratoga, Calif., a former student at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass.

The incident, and an hour of discussion that followed within yards of the Kremlin wall was totally without violence or hint of any. At the heart of the drama were ten white three-foot long banners hand lettered in purple india ink in English and Russian. One read 'We Condemn Anglo-American Press,' another, 'All People Against All Tests,' and the third, 'We Demand No More Russian Tests.' All carried the arrow symbol of Britain's campaign for nuclear disarmament. But the crowd of some 100 Russians, a bit confused by the commotion, reacted sharply to what it thought were anti-Soviet signs.

'Demonstrate in your own country,' one Russian said. 'Who wants to look at these provocative banners,' said another. 'Our country is for peace,' shouted a handful. 'There is no purpose in their speaking in the street.'

Gerald Dworkin, 24, of 1721 Grove St., Oakland, Calif., was another who joined in the anti-nuclear test demonstration. Dworkin is a philosophy student at the University of California, Berkeley. The banners, improvised by two young Britains, were carried unobtrusively out the back door of the Hotel Moscow off Red Square shortly before 4 p.m. after hours of intramural bickering by would-be marchers."

National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Inc.

SANE, one of the oldest and most influential of the peace groups, has avoided the spectacular type of demonstration that has characterized some of the others; and its list of honorary and national sponsors does not include a large proportion of pro-Communists with long records of front affiliation. The reason for this is apparent when one reads the following statement on SANE literature: "The National Committee needs and welcomes all persons whose support is not qualified by adherence to Communist or other totalitarian doctrine."

The national office is located at 17 East 45th St., New York 17, N.Y., and the Southern California Council office for SANE has operated from 910 Robertson Blvd. and 8512 Whitworth Drive. It is now situated at 6022 W. Pico, Los Angeles. There are SANE offices in the Bay Area, also, but we have devoted most of our attention to the Los Angeles region for several reasons. The majority of the inhabitants of this state are concentrated south of the Tehachapis, an area fraught with the sociological tensions arising from an unparalleled population growth and the presence of large racial minority groups. In the particular case of the Southern California SANE council, we find that despite its relatively restrained and dignified character, and its plain warning that Communists are unwelcome, the organization has been penetrated by some persons with impressive records of Communist front affiliation. These members, promoting each other in a familiar technique, were soon occupying positions of authority, and SANE thenceforth assumed a new and more "progressive" aspect—to the surprise, chagrin and resentment of its national leaders.

Mr. Norman Cousins is the founder and national chairman of SANE, well-known through his position as editor of *Saturday Review*. Dr. Homer Jack is national executive director; Donald Keys is program director; Sanford Gottlieb is in charge of political action, and Harold Applebaum is director of development. In Hollywood TV actor Steve Allen and motion picture actor Robert Ryan were co-chairmen for SANE in 1961, and in September of that year issued a statement which declared: "This crusade is non-political," a position that was to be violated in 1962.

The national officers have always insisted on a policy of refraining from the open, official endorsement of any political candidate by SANE or any of its chapters. In Los Angeles County these chapters function under the Southern California SANE Council. Peter Charlton had been chairman of this council until his resignation in the late spring of 1961. He was succeeded by Dr. S. Mark Doran, assistant director of the Los Angeles Psychiatric Service, a Community Chest agency.

Another peace organization, known as Help Establish Lasting Peace (HELP), maintains its office at 951 N. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles 69. It, like SANE, has a firm non-Communist policy and is sponsored by numerous writers, actors and educators. These two peace groups frequently co-operate in their common cause, and each tried to persuade WISP to exclude Communists from membership, but without success.

The March, 1963, issue of the Communist Party's publication *Political Affairs* (p. 9), has this to say concerning the firm anti-Communist attitude of SANE's national director, Dr. Homer Jack:

"Dr. Homer Jack, the Executive Director, is often preoccupied with keeping Communists out of the peace movement in all countries—except the Socialist lands. Recently he sharply criticized Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, the national leader of the Women's Strike for Peace, for her stand at HUAC on Communists in the peace movement. He declared that 'it is often the local Communists and fellow travelers who get in the way and make it harder, not easier, for Americans and Russians to do business together, either on a governmental or non-governmental basis.' He also expresses a fear that Communists will 'eventually manipulate the American peace organizations,' if allowed to join them or to have positions of leadership. He is not alone in this, although at all levels in SANE and some other peace organizations there is only a handful who make anti-Communism their business."

The new officers of Southern California SANE, besides Dr. Doran, were Dr. Isidor Zifferstein, Psychiatrist, and vice-chairman; Mary Clarke, second vice-chairman; Phyllis Edgecombe, community organizations; Ruth Passen, secretary; Miriam Evanson, treasurer, and Jean Gerard, executive secretary.

Thereafter Dr. John Lindon became community relations chairman; Joan Laurence, administrative secretary, Naomi Goldstein, public relations chairman, Stephen Kandel, industrial conversion chairman, William R. Bidner, political action chairman, and Judith Fried, finance committee.

In 1962 Jean Gerard went to Moscow for the Soviet-sponsored World Congress for Peace and Disarmament. Joan Laurence had attended the University of California at Berkeley in 1960, and was a member of SLATE, the radical student organization that participated in the San Francisco demonstration against HUAC in May of that year.

Advent of William Bidner

William R. Bidner, director of the political action committee, lost no time in manipulating it into channels never contemplated by Norman Cousins, SANE's founder, nor by its executive director, Dr. Homer Jack. Bidner—. On the contrary he completely ignored national policy and plunged the Southern California Council headlong into the 1962 California political campaign; specifically endorsing some candidates and opposing others; collaborating with other groups such as Californians for Liberal Representation, whose active members included Dr. Doran, Phyllis Edgecombe, Jean Gerard and Steve Allen.

William Bidner had ample experience in this type of operation. In 1945 he became executive director of the Mobilization for Democracy, a Communist front started to prevent Gerald L. K. Smith from speaking at the Los Angeles Philharmonic Auditorium. The situation engendered a hot controversy. One city councilman who insisted Smith had a right to speak despite his unpopular views was swept out of office;

A. L. Wirin, Civil Liberties Union Counsel, insisted that any organized attempt to prevent Smith's appearance would be an invasion of his civil liberties. The controversy, fully described in our 1947 and 1948 reports, led to a mass meeting in the Olympic Auditorium. Civic organizations and trade unions were urged to attend, a sizeable fund was raised, and the Mobilization for Democracy was launched.

But what the organization started to be, and what it actually became under the direction of William Bidner, were worlds apart. Shortly after the original meeting, the Committee questioned Mr. W. J. Bassett, secretary of the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, who testified that his organization was invited to attend the meeting in January, 1946. That portion of his testimony which led to his opinion that the organization had become Communist-controlled, was as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): How was your interest in that organization solicited?

A. When the Council for Civic Unity attempted to mobilize the meeting at the Olympic Auditorium in opposition to Gerald L. K. Smith, the Los Angeles Central Labor Council was invited to endorse and to participate in that meeting. The communications that invited the Central Labor Council to participate only stated that the meeting was to acquaint the public with the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith. We endorsed the meeting and I personally spoke at the meeting. Subsequent to that time the parties who had, with the council of Civic Unity, formed the meeting, carried on and formed the Mobilization for Democracy. They had never approached the council for an endorsement of the organization, nor had they even advised us of it. They merely kept sending notices that there would be meetings, using this council's and my own name, and unbeknownst to myself published it in the daily newspapers. At that time I communicated with Attorney General Bob Kenny, who was supposed to be chairman, and protested the use of the name of the American Federation of Labor or my name in connection with it, or any of the activities of the council. I questioned their activity on Communism and asked them to make a statement as to their position, whether they opposed Communism as well as Fascism. And I also advised them before they could use our name any further they would have to have the official endorsement of the council.

Q. Mr. Bassett, in connection with your suggestions as to whether they were opposed to Communism; the Mobilization for Democracy was very definitely and vociferously opposed to Fascism, wasn't it?

A. It very definitely was.

Q. That was the basis upon which it was formed?

A. That is correct.

Q. And did you detect any opposition to Communism?

A. Not one word.

Q. When the suggestion was made that the organization go on record as being opposed to Communism—of course all those questions refer to Communism only in this country, not abroad—what was the attitude?

A. I have never received a reply as to their question on Communism to this date.

Q. They did not adopt any resolution?

A. They did not.

Q. Against Communism?

A. No."

Mr. Bassett was then shown a letter, which he authenticated, addressed to the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, dated September 14, 1945, and which was a report from a special committee instructed to investigate the nature of Mobilization for Democracy and render a report thereon. The concluding portion of the letter read as follows:

"Your committee is of the opinion, after a thorough study of the Mobilization, and after interviews with Stiller and interested labor and civic leaders and having had access to stenographic notes and reports from Mobilization meetings, that:

1. The Mobilization for Democracy has gone far beyond the original purpose of combating Gerald L. K. Smith and his ilk, and that:

2. The Mobilization for Democracy has now revealed itself as having the intention of reaching into every organization, union, club, association, and into the communities and homes for the purpose of creating a new coalition that will be led and dominated by the Communist Party, by minority radical elements of the CIO and AFL, by the CIO Political Action Committee and organizations with similar ideological beliefs and objectives; and that:

3. The deliberate and unconcealed intention of the leaders of the Mobilization is to use it as an instrument to smear anyone who opposes Communism as a fascist whether or not such opponents of Communism are equally opposed to Fascism.

Your committee notes that the clear-cut opposition to both Communism and Fascism is the official and constitutional policy of this council and of the AFL—and on this issue alone the committee would recommend unanimously against any alliance or participation in the Mobilization."

Mr. Bassett further testified that the Mobilization for Democracy had fallen into the hands of leaders who had steered it into paths of obvious pro-Communist propaganda. Still testifying under oath, he said:

"There exists in the openly expressed attitude of the Mobilization leadership a clear intention to promote a widespread propaganda campaign to indiscriminately lump together all persons who oppose both Communism and Fascism with the aim of smearing all opponents of Communism as Fascists, regardless of whether or not they are equally against Fascism as they are against Communism. The leaders of the Mobilization take the public position that anyone who opposes Communism is automatically a red-baiter and a fascist."

The activities of the Mobilization for Democracy under the leadership of William Bidner, consisted in its co-operation with other well-known front organizations in the Southern California area. As we pointed out in our 1947 report, an undercover agent of the Committee was instructed to join both the Mobilization for Democracy and the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council under fictitious names. He was soon flooded with a torrent of literature and propaganda from innumerable front organizations. It is quite obvious that he could not have been reached through the mail *under his fictitious names* except through either the Mobilization for Democracy or the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, the only organizations that were in possession of his aliases and address. The organizations from which the agent received letters and literature under the names he had selected are as follows: Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers, 5851 S. Avalon Blvd., Los Angeles; Stop the Ku Klux Klan; Citizens Committee for the Recall of Councilman McClanahan; Elizalde anti-Discrimination Committee, Hold the Price Line Committee; American Committee for a Free Indonesia, 8706 Marros St., Los Angeles; Citizens Committee for Better Education, 5855 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles; Jewish Black Book Committee of Los Angeles, Room 1021, 458 S. Spring St., Los Angeles; Citizens Committee to Aid the Lock-Out Hearst Employees, 1324 S. Figueroa St., Los Angeles.

This interlocking network and over-all domination and control of the Communist Party front organizations is clearly indicated by the mass of literature mailed to the Committee's agent from apparently widely separated organizations and committees. As we have already seen, the same carefully co-ordinated organizations between the various fronts exists now as it did in 1947, and may be epitomized in the statement of Ruth McKenney, then a member of the Communist Party, who boldly revealed this technique in *New Masses*, May 31, 1938:

"The Communist Party of America operates on almost every conceivable battle front in this country, in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep South, among the intellectuals. All this busy and effective scurrying around is efficiently centralized."

William R. Bidner was also a witness before this Committee when he was executive director of the Mobilization for Democracy, and testified, in part, as follows:

"Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, Mr. Bidner, getting back to the Mobilization for Democracy, a moment, you have your own mailing list, have you not?

A. Yes, we do.

Q. Is it your custom to lend that mailing list to other organizations?

A. It depends who that organization is.

Q. Well, that of course doesn't answer the question.

A. Yes, we are.

Q. Was that frequently done or infrequently done?

A. I would say infrequent."

The world Communist movement has always maintained a legal department to protect members in foreign countries in their work of subverting those nations and softening them for Communism. During the existence of the Comintern this work was handled by MOPR, Russian initials for International Red Aid. This became known later as International Labor Defense, headed in the United States by the late Vito Marcantonio, and in California by Leo Gallagher and a staff of Party functionaries.

During Bidner's tenure as director of the Mobilization for Democracy, the Civil Rights Congress assumed the duties of the International Labor Defense, which, as is customary with fronts that have served their purpose and become too well-known, slipped quietly into oblivion. For a short period the Los Angeles Civil Rights Congress functioned as a division of the Mobilization, shared the office with it, and was also directed by William Bidner. It soon became a national organization, however, with the main office in New York at 205 East 42nd Street.

From this brief background description, one can readily see that both the Mobilization for Democracy and the Civil Rights Congress were not ordinary Communist fronts. The former was local in scope, but one of the most potent fronts that ever operated in California; the latter became a national front so powerful and active that it was soon declared subversive and Communist-dominated by the United States Department of Justice. Philip M. Connelly was a national sponsor for the Civil Rights Congress, as were Carey McWilliams, Charlotta Bass, Robert W. Kenny, Paul Robeson, Daniel Marshall and Aubrey Grossman. The latter denied his Communist affiliation for many years while practicing law in San Francisco, but emerged as both the Pacific Coast director for Civil Rights Congress and Educational Director of the Communist Party of San Francisco.

William R. Bidner, therefore, had abundant practical experience when he became director of SANE's Political Action Committee. As it departed from its "non-political crusade" character and began to endorse specific political candidates and pass typical party-line resolutions under the Bidner touch, it was clearly only a matter of time until the national office in New York became aware that its Los Angeles County affiliate was committing a gross violation of the organization's rules. The news did get to SANE's national officers in May, 1962. By this time Bidner and Joan Laurence were assuming more responsibility and authority for both the Southern California Council of SANE and for its Political Action Committee. Late in 1962 Miss Laurence was authorized to represent the organization "... at a reception in Berkeley given by PAX, a peace-oriented democratic club in that area," according to the Council minutes for December 11, 1962. She was then Administrative Secretary for the SANE Council.

An example of the sort of resolution the Political Action was recommending to SANE is disclosed in a memorandum dated September 6, 1962, and which read, in part, as follows:

"1. We urge our government to end its military intervention in South Vietnam, to withdraw our troops from Thailand and South

Vietnam, and initiate a special international conference to work out a peaceful solution to the crisis in South Vietnam through the establishment of a neutral coalition government, along the lines of the settlement in Laos.

2. We propose that the People's Republic of China, which includes one quarter of the world's population, be invited to participate in disarmament negotiations and be admitted to the United Nations. Just as disarmament must be universal, so must the UN be inclusive in its membership in order fully to become effective.

3. We oppose the giving of nuclear weapons to NATO of West Germany, because such steps would increase international tensions, increase the number of nations in the 'nuclear club', and make nuclear war more possible by spreading the decision as to the use of nuclear weapons."

Other resolutions suggested to SANE for adoption included one to oppose the establishment of fallout shelters "because it offers no protection against nuclear attack and increases war tensions;" and another that proposed "settlement of the Berlin crisis by declaring Berlin a free, neutral city whose status is guaranteed by the UN." The Political Action Committee has not only advocated immediate steps toward converting the United States economy from defense to peace-industrial basis, but arranged a program to that end with the University of California at Los Angeles.

SANE, as a national organization that did not welcome Communists to its membership, had never even hinted about relinquishing any of our rights in Berlin; it has never advocated immediate abandonment of our defense economy; it has neither advocated a unilateral ending of nuclear testing nor opposed fallout shelters. These were all matters that appeared coincidentally with the Bidner control.

Norman Cousins, SANE's founder, when informed of the activities described above, stated that no chapter had the right to make endorsements of political candidates; and on May 24, 1962, SANE's National Executive Director wrote the following letter:

"Dr. S. Mark Doran, Chairman
Southern California Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy
8512 Whitworth Drive
Los Angeles 35, California.

Dear Mark:

Like most national, non-partisan organizations, the National SANE and its local committees do not endorse candidates for public office. SANE traditionally has circulated questionnaires to candidates for various offices in primaries and elections, but it has never endorsed specific candidates on the basis of these questionnaires or urged its members to work actively for any one candidate. Individual SANE members are quite free to make such endorsements and are encouraged to do precinct work, but the national committee and its local committees will not do so in order to preserve the non-partisan character of the organization.

It appears that the Southern California Council of SANE has urged its members to work for three candidates for Congress on the basis of positive answers to a recent questionnaire. This is not in accord with national SANE policy and we understand that the Southern California Council made these endorsements in a misunderstanding of this national policy.

Sincerely,

Homer A. Jack
Executive Director."

HAI/bk

This letter was ignored, and the Bidner regime went right ahead with its own program of political activity. It continues to use the name, prestige, dignity and anti-Communist policy of the national SANE organization but defiantly refuses to obey the rules of the national movement which it has perverted into a left-wing propaganda apparatus. And this has all been done with apparent ease to an anti-Communist organization by a man who has headed two of the most powerful Communist fronts in the country. Of course, he had colleagues who were thrust into positions from which they abetted the takeover. As long as they remain in power, the condition under which the Southern California SANE now operates shall continue to exist. We are forced to observe that if SANE in Southern California could be so easily captured despite its anti-Communist policy, the well-meaning but naive Women for Peace and Women's Strike for Peace who welcome Communists, have little chance to preserve their movement from such a fate.

Other Peace Groups

There are other peace groups in California, but none that present the problem of subversive infiltration as do SANE and Women for Peace. We repeat, that we make no charge that either is a Communist front—but the infiltration is clear and speaks for itself. Among the other peace groups currently active, and most of which have no critical infiltration problem as yet, are HELP; Committee for Non-Violent Action; San Francisco Student Peace Union; Turn Towards Peace; Lobby for Peace, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In addition there are numerous local peace groups, small but active and with little, if any, Communist infiltration. It is obvious that the Party has concentrated its attention on the major groups that have the widest mass appeal, and that are most vulnerable. The official position of the Communist Party toward the peace movement in general is fortunately both clear and current, having been announced by the National Committee in *Political Affairs* for March, 1963, in an article by Arnold Johnson.

"The most vital mass force in the peace movement of our country today is the Women's Strike for Peace and its comparable forms in various cities such as the Voice of Women, or Women for Peace, or other groups which associate with the Women's Strike move-

ment. They are the largest force, with more local groups in more cities and with more active participants and supporters than any other peace organizations. They also have the least overhead and the greatest amount of volunteer work." (P. 7.)

This article also describes the efforts exerted by officers of SANE and Turn Toward Peace to persuade the WISP and its affiliates to abandon their welcome-to-Communists attitude, and how their warnings were rejected. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is described as the oldest such movement, with 5,000 active members and "... a healthy attitude to other organizations including the Women's Strike movement." (P. 8.)

Speaking of student activities along the peace front, Johnson said:

"The students across the country were the main force in the peace demonstrations during the Cuban crisis. They did an impressive job. While there are many independent student organizations on the college campuses, the main organization today is the Student Peace Union which continues to grow. It gained status during October which could have resulted in a much greater growth and achievement. The Socialist leaders in the organization created a certain fear of Communist influence and missed the boat for rapid growth while tightening their controls. There are, however, many militant students who are in disagreement with the Socialist Party tactics." (Pp. 9-10.)

"The role of *Communist Viewpoint* and its editor, Dan Rubin, is of special significance in the student peace activities. The meetings of Herbert Aptheker are also of growing meaning. This also applies to Benjamin Davis, James Jackson, Elizabeth Flynn, Carl Winter and others whose student meetings help to create some new thinking about Communists and in relation to peace. All such meetings have an influence far beyond the campus through radio, television and the press. Three meetings with Gus Hall—at the University of Virginia on February 8, and at Yale University on February 13, and at Brandeis University on March 11, have special importance to the student movement and peace. There must be an approach which brings the students not only of the liberal-Left, but of the major student organizations into the peace movement. This means that the student councils of the student body, the National Student Association, the student political parties and clubs, and a variety of organizations, newspapers and publications need a place in a movement to help determine the policy of the country toward peace." (P. 10.)

The article concludes with a statement concerning the role of the Communist Party in the American peace movement generally. It is actually a declaration that Communists intend to penetrate the movement at any level where they can exert the most influence, and then swing the organizations in conformity with the Communist program, thereby exerting force far in excess of their numerical strength. This is the familiar old strategy, the use of the so-called "Diamond Pattern" that has been brought to a high degree of efficiency by the Commu-

nists, and which enables a handful of them to take over a large, non-Communist group. These techniques are always employed to enable the Party to reach and influence the masses through media they refer to as "transmission belts," a phrase originated by Lenin. This is how the article concludes:

"... There is a role which the organized peace movement must assume, and that includes a responsibility for the active participation of the broader and more important and decisive popular forces. The peace forces must never become isolated from the mass struggles. In this total struggle there is always a place for Communists. No single force can take over the full responsibility and none can assume the right to exclude others. Such an approach places a high responsibility on every sector of the peace front in our country.

One of the most important lessons from the Cuban crisis is the necessity of keeping the lines of communication and discussion open. If this was imperative between potential antagonists with the face of civilization at stake, then surely it is imperative among those forces within our country who advocate peace—and this includes Communists and the Churches, as well as the unions, the Negro people, the students, professionals and a legion of others. These lines of communication must be established now. Peace is the will of the people!" (P.14.)

The Pro-Castro Fronts

The *New York Times* news service published an article by Ted Szule recently that summarized the methods by which the Communists managed to gain complete control of the Cuban Revolution, but there had been a long, patient persistent history of infiltration and intrigue that paved the way for many years. We have heretofore described the apparent demotion of Constantin Oumansky, second Soviet Ambassador to the United States, who concealed the fact that he was not only an ace intelligence agent, but proficient in many languages, including Spanish. His apparent demotion occurred when he was removed from his Washington post and sent to serve as Ambassador to Mexico. Oumansky apologized for having to address the Mexican people in Russian and have his remarks interpreted, promising that when he next addressed the diplomatic corps it would be in the language of their country, Spanish.

His gesture delighted the Mexicans, and his diligence in learning so much of the language in such a short time further excited their admiration. Soon Oumansky was collaborating with the head of the Marxist labor unions, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, and the two flew frequently to Latin American countries, starting front organizations, spreading propaganda, concentrating their efforts on the two classes the Communists have found to be the most receptive and vulnerable the world over: the impoverished working masses and the university intellectuals, students and faculty alike. Oumansky's activities were tragically ended when his plane exploded over the Mexico City airport,

killing him and several of his colleagues. Toledano still works harder than ever at the subversion of the Latin American countries, and Cuba, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Panama, Colombia, Guatemala and Haiti were always high on the agenda.

The *New York Times* piece was published at a most appropriate time, August 8, 1960, as the Cuban Revolution was at its height, and just as the Russians and Chinese Communists were commencing their influx of technicians, troops and supplies. In part, it said:

"As for Raul Castro, he has just spent three weeks in Prague and Moscow in talks on subjects that were never made public. The belief in Cuba is that they dealt with arrangements for military assistance from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Major Guevara has led the negotiations for the signing of trade pacts with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Communist China. As a part of these treaties Cuba has been invaded by many—possibly hundreds—Communist technicians from these countries, supplementing the hard core of Communist specialists that Major Guevara has been bringing in quietly since last year from Latin-American and Western European capitals.

Captain Antonio Nunez Jiminez, executive director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, the organization controlling most of Cuba's economic life, returned in mid-July from a long visit to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He delivered a three-hour television report to the Cuban people in which he praised highly the life in the Soviet Union.

In recent months both Major Castro and Major Guevara have been able to move into positions of power scores of men who are loyal to them and are regarded as strongly pro-Communist. Simultaneously a purge of anti-Communist elements has been successfully under way in labor unions, professional associations, Havana University, the armed forces, most of the ministries, and all of the other areas of national significance.

In the Cuban Confederation of Labor, the regime forced the ouster of David Salvador, a loyal 'Fidelista,' from the post of secretary general after he had clashed with Labor Minister Augusto Martinez Sanchez over the purging of anti-Communists from the important Construction Workers Union. Senior Salvador had to yield to Jesus Soto, regarded as a Communist by most of those familiar with the confederation, who held the job of secretary of organization.

At Havana University, the school's ruling body was thrown out by the Students Federation early in July, ending a dispute over student demands that 'reactionary and counter-revolutionary' professors be discharged. Many professors had acquired 'reactionary' reputations because they opposed Communism.

The university action, carried out with the advice of several professors who are openly members of the Communist Party, was presented as a prelude to an academic reform, which the school actually needed badly.

Early in July, the National Collegium of Lawyers whose headquarters were occupied physically by a 'revolutionary' group, expelled nearly 100 lawyers who had anti-Communist sentiments.

The president of the National Collegium of Journalists, who directed the seizures of *Diario de la Marina and Prensa Libre*, has made trips to Moscow and Prague to participate in meetings of the Communist-controlled International Organization of Journalists.

The head of the Television-Revolución channel over which Dr. Castro makes most of his appearances, directed in the 1940's the 'Ten Ten' radio state, which was the voice of the Communist Party when it had ministers in General Batista's Cabinet.

Major Ramiro Valdez, head of the Army Intelligence Service, which acts as Cuba's secret police, has never made a secret of his admiration for Communism and the Soviet Union. In July, he traveled to Prague and Moscow with Major Castro.

Major William Galvez, the Army's Inspector General and Major Castro's top aide, visited Peiping and Moscow in May. In Communist China he spoke of the identity of the Chinese and Communist Revolutions.

The Communist Party has great prestige in official circles. At a recent rally its President, Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Editor of the Party newspaper *Hoy*, sat on the terrace of the Presidential Palace with members of the cabinet.

The Party has a daily radio program, 'The Hour of the Popular Socialist Party,' over the station of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform. Senor Marinello was one of the speakers in the 'popular university' weekly television series, which began in May with an appearance by Dr. Castro. The Party was also an official co-sponsor of the Latin-American Youth Congress arranged by the government.

With the forthcoming opening of the Soviet Embassy in Havana and the expected establishment of diplomatic relations with Communist China, the rhythm of Communist activities in Cuba is expected to quicken, both domestically and internationally."

Martin Hall, frequently mentioned in these reports, has also participated in the Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which is the largest of the pro-Castro fronts. J. Edgar Hoover, in his annual report for the fiscal year 1961, said:

"The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is one of the main outlets in this country for pro-Castro propaganda. Many of its members are United States Nationals. This Bureau during the 1961 fiscal year determined that certain funds used by the Committee to pay for a newspaper advertisement had come from a Cuban official assigned to the United Nations, a fact later admitted by a committee member in testimony before a congressional committee. F.B.I. investigations also have shown that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been heavily infiltrated by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, and that these parties have actu-

ally organized some chapters of the committee." (*Dept. of State Bulletin*, March 11, 1963, pp. 349-350.)

This *Bulletin* also points out that immediately after Castro came to power, the international Communist propaganda machinery was set in motion to export his revolutionary concepts to other Latin American countries and to soften us towards him in the United States. The Latin American fronts created for this purpose were The Legion of Volunteers for the Defense of Cuba in Peru, The Movement for Solidarity With and Defense of the Cuban Revolution in Chile, The Society of Friends of Cuba in Brazil, and The Society of Friends of the Cuban Revolution in Costa Rica. These were the most important fronts, but there were others. In the United States the main front was the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, subsidized with Cuban funds, organized and operated by Communists, its branches and subsidiaries scattered throughout the United States and circulating great volumes of propaganda material through its own channels and those of the American Communist Party and its front organization network.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has acted as a catalyst to activate the old feud between the Communist Party and the Trotskyites. In some cases there have been struggles for power between the two groups to gain control of local units of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; these bitter contests have disrupted the united front tactic that brought about a co-operation between the two factions after the death of Stalin in 1953. Each group has conducted its own separate programs, and there has been considerable rivalry which is beginning to be manifest in several different areas of activity.

Student groups have been vociferous in their demonstrations for the Castro Revolution. On September 21, 1960, Students Fair Play for Cuba Committee met at Stiles Hall in Berkeley and discussed the feasibility of affiliating with the parent organization. Mack Miller was in charge of publicity and Robert Sheer headed the research department. Both had been members of SLATE, according to the records of the University of California at Berkeley. On Thursday, November 16, 1961, a Cuban Film Festival and "Report on Cuba Today," opened at 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, under the auspices of Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Box 2615, zone 26, San Francisco. Admission was \$1.00, and students were charged 50¢ for the three-day program, which ended on Saturday, November 18. Narrator of some of the Cuban propaganda films was Mike Tigar, former president of SLATE at the University in Berkeley, and the affair was directed by Sidney Roger, pro-Communist radio commentator, who has been operating in the Bay Area for many years, and whose record of participation in Communist front activities is scattered throughout our reports from 1943 to date.

On Wednesday, November 7, 1962, the youth division of the Trotskyite movement, known as the Young Socialist Alliance, presented Peter Valdez in a program entitled "Cuba and the Latin American Revolution," at Trotskyite headquarters, 702 E. Fourth St., Los Angeles 33. Valdez was billed as "National Secretary of the YSI, delegate to the Latin American Youth Congress in Havana in 1960, and recently returned from Venezuela, Brazil and Colombia."

We have already mentioned the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, operated in Los Angeles by Helen L. Travis, from 6324 Primrose Avenue, Los Angeles 28. One of the typical programs presented by this organization, according to its own circular, consisted of a panel of speakers who were available for appearances before other organizations. The circular described their qualifications as follows:

"Jean Kidwell Pestana and Rose Rosenberg, attorneys-at-law, who spent a month in Cuba during April and May, 1962, visiting every province and speaking with people from every walk of life. Each presents a magnificent series of colored slides (two projectors, two screens) to illustrate her talk.

Attorney Frank Pestana, who visited Cuba during 1961, can show slides taken by himself then and by his wife later, and has made a profound study of Latin American history, politics and economics. These three can best be reached regarding speaking dates at their office: HO 4-7307.

Helen L. Travis, journalist, who spent three weeks in Cuba during February, 1962, and illustrates her talks with colored slides.

Frank S. Lopez, Mexican-American civic leader, who lived for several years in pre-revolutionary Cuba, and follows current developments there closely."

Rose Rosenberg and Frank Pestana have both been identified by several witnesses who testified under oath that they were members of the Southern Division of the Communist Party of California. Helen Travis and Frank Lopez have already been mentioned in connection with the activities of the Constitutional Liberties Information Center, but of course these qualifications were not mentioned in the circular which described the qualifications of the speakers.

In mid-April of this year Governor Brown requested Attorney General Stanley Mosk to make some inquiry concerning two Mexican magazines being circulated in Southern California that were alleged to be pro-Castro and anti-United States in their editorial policy. The Attorney General made it very clear that his office could do nothing about this situation, but that he was advising the Attorney General of the United States concerning the two publications, *Politica* and *Siempre*, for whatever action might be indicated.

The report of the Attorney General to the Governor stated that his "brief investigation" of the magazines indicated that they expressed a "definite pro-Castro editorial policy and are extremely critical of the United States." Mosk added that "We have no way of knowing how many Mexican-American citizens of California are being misguided by this pro-Castro propaganda." It is appropriate to comment here that these two magazines printed in Mexico are microscopic in effect when compared with the torrent of pro-Castro and anti-American propaganda that can be found in abundant supply at both Communist propaganda outlets in this state: The International Book Store at 1408 Market St., San Francisco, and the Progressive Book Store at 1806 W. Seventh St., in Los Angeles. These two establishments carry supplies of apparently inexhaustible materials from all over the world

that maintain a constant and vicious attack against the United States and endeavor to extoll the serene and abundant life behind the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall. Pro-Castro propaganda materials circulated at every large campus of the state university are far more abundant and, in our opinion, much more deadly in their effect than these two sporadically-issued Mexican publications. The students organizations for Castro, the Fair Play for Cuba Committees and their subsidiary organizations are continuously haranguing the American people with lectures by well-known Communist leaders, motion pictures, colored slides, public demonstrations and all of the other attributes that make up the Communist front propaganda campaign that is being waged in this country.

During 1961 and the early part of 1962 the Students Ad Hoc Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Cuba, and the Palo Alto Fair Play for Cuba Committee, held typical meetings praising the virtues of the Castro regime and bitterly attacking the United States because of its threatened reaction to the establishment of a Communist bastion ninety miles from our shores. Some of the leaders of these organizations, which could be addressed at P.O. Box 1264, Palo Alto, were: Prof. Paul Baran, Valeda J. Bryant, Jane Burton, Doris Dawson, Bernardo Garcia, J. Cliff Haley, W. A. Harju, John Howard, Norman Howard, Prof. Arnold Isenberger, Eleanor Isakson, Howard Koch, Jr., Sandra Levinson, Harry Margolis, Robert Mattingly, Dr. Henry Mayer, Olive G. Mayer, Irene Paull, Alice Ann Poekman, Alice Richards, Ira J. Sandperl, Merle M. Sandperl, Prof. Paul M. Sweezy, Sylvia G. Thygeson and Leonore Veltfort.

We are glad to report that immediately following the disclosure that offensive nuclear-armed rockets were being installed in Cuba and following our quarantine of that country against any further deliveries of such weapons, a group of pro-Castro university students attempted to launch a typical demonstration on the campus of the State University at Berkeley, and that for the first time—so far as we are aware—they were soundly booed by the other students who were apparently weary of being confronted by such demonstrations on the campus of an institution they are attending for the purpose of obtaining an education and not being subjected to radical political demonstrations of either the grand right or left.

On October 27, 1962, 1500 anti-American and pro-Castro persons met in San Francisco and presented a variety of speakers who denounced President Kennedy as insane for instituting the Cuban blockade, generally attacked the United States, refused to criticize the Soviet Union for causing the crisis, and who generally spread the familiar international Communist line. Co-chairmen of this demonstration were Mike Miller, heretofore mentioned, and by this time editing a magazine called the *Liberal Democrat*, and Alexander Saxton, a graduate student in history at the University of California. There was also a relatively small delegation of anti-Castro demonstrators, a contingent of students from the Berkeley university, and a band of 125 Cuban refugees.

COMMUNISM AND YOUTH

The World Youth Festivals

After World War II the Soviet Union formed two international youth organizations which were designed to direct Communist youth activities in foreign countries. These organizations were the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. Through these global fronts the World Youth Festivals have been staged commencing at Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1947, and which have been held every two or three years thereafter. The seventh World Festival was held in Vienna in 1959, arrangements having been made under the direction of Jean Garcias, a 34-year-old French Communist official who had worked at the World Federation of Democratic Youth office for five years and who has played an active role in organizing all of the other festivals that have been completely dominated by the rigid Communist discipline that is characteristic of such affairs, and were simply media for the transmission of anti-American propaganda, calculated to infuse the young delegates from various countries with renewed enthusiasm to return and subvert the nations to which they should have been loyal. No anti-Communist statements were tolerated, each of these affairs having been organized, prepared, conducted and closely monitored by Soviet representatives and young Communist functionaries.

At the seventh World Youth Festival at Vienna, however, there was organized opposition to Communist propaganda for the first time and the effect of the undertaking was greatly reduced. The Vienna Festival bogged down in open controversy as it stumbled along to an unsuccessful conclusion, and left the Austrian people more hostile than ever toward the youth festivals in particular and Communism in general.

In spite of vigorous objections from Finland's non-Communist youth groups, the international preparatory committee for the eighth World Youth Festival met at Helsinki, Finland, on February 20th, and on March 1st announced that city as its choice for the eighth World Youth Festival. The only Finnish group attending the conference was the Finnish Communist youth organization. Even the Finnish press was barred. Written objections were received from the Finnish National Council of Students and the Finnish Government. So hostile, indeed, was Finland that the preparatory committee reservations for meeting facilities at the School of Economics and the Kulosaari Casino were successively canceled. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the official newspaper for the young Communist league of the Soviet Union, blamed the hostility on a "NATO Plot." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, February 17, 1961.)

On October 14 and 15, 1961, thirty-seven young Americans met on the University of Chicago campus for the purpose of forming the eighth World Youth Festival Committee in this country. As a result of their work 480 young Americans—virtually all college students—went to the festival. But the iron hand of Communist-styled discipline was evident from the first—they couldn't choose their own leaders. The *People's World* for December 16, 1961, printed the names of the

leaders, and the *National Guardian*, pro-Communist paper, stated on February 5, 1962, that: "The initiators of this movement in the United States are a former college secretary of the American Friends Service Committee; a national councilman of the Student Peace Union; a former chairman of SLATE at Berkeley." In its issue for April 2, 1962, the *National Guardian* published an appeal for funds for these young students by three men whose support of Communist causes is widely known: Carlton B. Goodlett, Willard Uphaus, and Victor Rabinowitz.

On university campuses throughout the country local Youth Festival Committees were formed, and similar units were active in various cities. In San Francisco, Patrick Hallinan, the son of Vincent Hallinan, headed the movement. Young Hallinan had been a member of SLATE at the University of California in Berkeley, has participated in pro-Castro activities and a variety of similar organizations. His father was sponsored for election to the Presidency of the United States by the Communist-operated Independent Progressive Party in 1952—approximately ten years before the Cuban blockade.

During the seventh World Youth Festival at Vienna, as we have observed, a number of young Americans whose courage and patriotism impelled them to make the trip, created the first evidence of opposition to Communist propaganda. At the eighth Congress at Helsinki an even larger group of courageous and patriotic Americans made the trip to Finland for the sole purpose of defending their country against attack by the Soviet propagandists and their sycophants.

Marco Schneck, a UCLA student who has repeatedly invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked about his membership on the Youth Commission of the Communist Party in this state, was chairman of the Los Angeles Festival Committee. Schneck circulated a notice of a meeting at 1758 N. Alexandria St., Los Angeles, to be held on October 19, 1961, to hear a report of the Chicago Conference for the Helsinki Youth Festival. This street number, 1758 N. Alexandria, is the residence of Hugh and Dorothy DeLacy, who were mentioned earlier in this report in connection with the Constitutional Liberties Information Center at Los Angeles.

Typical of the unsolicited propaganda sent to college campuses in this country, and urging students to support the International Union of Students and the Youth Festivals, was the material sent from Czechoslovakia to San Diego State College. We have reproduced a part of this material on pages 179 and 180.

Some of the non-Communist personnel who attended the Helsinki festival volunteered testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and stated that on the national advisory board for the festival were: Peter Brownstone, graduate student, member of Student-Faculty Court, University of Chicago; Kenneth Cloke, national student association delegate, representative-at-large to executive committee at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and a member of SLATE at that institution; Ronald Dorfman, chairman of Midwest Student Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee; Leonard Friedman, Student Body President at the University of Chicago; Joe Johnson, founder, former president of NAACP at Hunter College;



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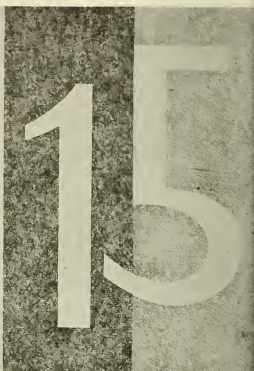
RMD

and discussion circles on national and local problems, student meetings, forums and symposia, lectures, press conferences, cultural and sports competitions and other events. The international cultural competition planned in honour of the anniversary, initiated by the Secretariat of the IUS, will also provide a stimulus to wide participation.

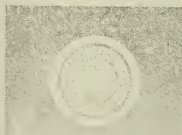
PREPARE NOW

The celebration of the 15th anniversary of the IUS is of significant importance for the entire international student movement. The full success of the event will represent a valuable contribution to the further strengthening of international co-operation and solidarity among students in the fight for world peace, against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence and for student rights and interests.

BEGIN THEREFORE YOUR PREPARATIONS AT ONCE. TAKE PART IN THE CELEBRATIONS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY. MAKE THE ANNIVERSARY A WORLD EVENT LONG TO BE REMEMBERED.



**AN OCCASION
TO CELEBRATE
15th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE IUS**



Published by the Press and Information
Department of the International Union
of Students, Vokrova 3, Prague 2,
Czechoslovakia

David Levey, Student Body Vice President at the University of Chicago; James McDonald, entertainer; Jeff Mackler, community councilman at Antioch College, national councilman Student Peace Union; Jeffery Segal, President, Roosevelt University Student Body, National Student Association delegate, chairman of the Student Activities Board; Alan Steinberg, former member of the executive committee of the student government at the City College of New York; Mitchell Vogel, National Student Association delegate, chairman for the Students for Democratic Rights, member of the executive committee of student government at Roosevelt University; Michael Tigar, student government member of the executive committee at the University of California, former president of SLATE at the Berkeley campus of the University of California; Richard Prosten, national student association co-ordinator at Roosevelt University in Chicago; Michael Myerson, former president of SLATE at the University of California in Berkeley; Bert Weinstein, a member of two student-faculty committees, former chairman of the Student Government Civil Liberties Committee and National Student Association delegate from the City College of New York; Miss Alix Dobkin, Student Body President of the Tyler School of Art, Temple University; Barbara Rabinowitz, associate editor and former editor-in-chief of *Observation Post*, College of the City of New York; Norman Berkowitz, founder and former chairman of SANE at Hunter College.

Headquarters for the preparatory committee in the United States was located at 460 Park Avenue South, New York City, and Michael Myerson was in charge of the national program while Michael Tigar handled the West Coast and Richard Prosten the Middle West, the East Coast being administered by Norman Berkowitz. We specifically direct our readers' attention to the section in the 1961 report dealing with SLATE at the University of California and its participation in the demonstrations against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco in May of 1960. Mike Myerson, Michael Tigar, and Kenneth Cloke, as well as the Hallinan brothers, all were leaders of this student organization at the time the riots occurred.

We have been fortunate in obtaining a duly authenticated list of all of the attendants from the United States to the eighth World Youth Festival at Helsinki, and we set the list of participants forth herewith with the reminder that among them are individuals who went for the purpose of resisting the Communist propaganda and defending the interests of their own country. The official festival list presented these names separately for the women and the men, and we will, for the sake of convenience and conformity, follow the same procedure.

Adelewitz, Linda
Allan, Stephanie
Altman, Tammy
April, June
Arndt, Gayle
Auerbach, Maxine
Banda, Gale
Baskin, Marianne
Beeson, Diane
Bell, Diana

Berkowitz, Sheila
Berney, Barbara
Blum, Elizabeth
Bobrow, Susan
Boehm, Nancy
Bohachevsky, Martha
Borenstein, Susan
Brall, Martha
Brandt, Elaine
Brawman, Marilyn

Braxton, Rosemary
Brothman, Elsa
Brown, Susan
Bryant, Betty
Budish, Leslie
Burdun, Ann
Burkett, Karol
Burns, Carol
Cartson, Linda
Chernosky, Nadia

Chesman, Judith	Kimerling, Ervine	Schaffer, Elinore
Cohen, Nikola	Kishner, Ann	Schirmer, Abigail
Cohen, Susan	Klein, Josefa	Schorr, Linda
Cole, Patricia	Klein, Monica	Schreibstein, Flo
Collins, Lydia	Koski, Judith	Schutz, Janet
Collins, Sarah	Kovac, Alice	Schwarzback, Ottilie
Cool, Ann	Kritzler, Helen	Seelig, Erica
Cooper, Ann	Kulik, Karen	Shapiro, Judith
Crandell, Freda	Logoyda, Karen	Shulman, Renee
Criss, Esther	Landau, Beryl	Silber, Virginia
Darrow, Gail	Lasher, Cynthia	Silberman, Linda
Dassin, Joan	Lawton, Joan	Sluzar, Sophia
Dassin, Linda	Linda, Margaret	Smith, Roberta
Davis, Jo	Lincoln, Florence	Sopiak, Pat
Davis, Lee	London, Barbara	Steinberg, Barbara
De'Agostina, Francine	Lure, Susan	Steinberg, Renee
Dew, Anke	McCord, Cheryl	Stern, Karen
Dlugin, Lee	McKay, Marguerite	Storey, Zarefah
Drucker, Joan	Maki, Lauren	Suffin, Dian
Duval, Victoria	Maki, Sylvia	Sulkes, Marjorie
Eccles, Ann	Malament, June	Suller, Dina
Eckstein, Karen	Malukoff, Joan	Syvanen, Carlyn
Eisenhandler, Jo	Mason, Florence	Schellenberg, Janette
Eisner, Cathey	Mayberry, Sharon	Temple, Joan
Faber, Joan	Melvin, June	Tigar, Pamet
Fefferman, Susan	Merzon, Lenore	Tiger, Linda
Feingold, Marcia	Meyers, Esther	Unger, Liz
Finkelstein, Ruth	Middleton, Lynn	Vergum, Helen
Flodquist, Greta	Mintz, Susan	Vorobiov, Mary
Forest, Rosanne	Mira, Miriam	Walcott, Brenda
Foster, Grace	Morris, Vicki	Walker, Alice
Francis, Mrs. John	Moser, Vivian	Washington, Joann
Frankfeld, Bela	Mycrson, Deanne	Watkins, Myrna
Fuchia, Janet	Nakashima, Wendy	Weinberg, Sylvia
Fuller, Lynn	Netboy, Linda	Weinstein, Joan
Garfinkle, Ann	Newcomer, Susan	Weissman, Terry
Ginsberg, Anne	Norton, Ellen	Weissman, Dina
Glashagel, Ann	Ostroff, Alice	Weitzner, Janet
Goebel, Wendy	Ourlicht, Myrtle	Weksman, Karen
Goldenberg, Ilene	Patriuos, Sondra	White, Laurie
Gorchoff, Penny	Paterson, Mary	Winter, Michele
Gordon, Ina	Persson, Gun	Wintner, Lora
Goss, Gayle	Pertum, Marguerite	Wolfe, Barbara
Gray, Judith	Petris, Betty	Wollin, Carol
Green, Billie	Pfeifer, Marilyn	Zedieoff, Nina
Gurewitz, Sydney	Pikser, Roberta	Zlatchin, Martha
Hall, Michele	Podore, Deborah	Zwerdling, Helene
Hard, Martha	Pomerantz, Anita	Aamodt, Gary
Hard, Sandra	Prensky, Cathey	Alexander, Ranya
Meyer, Margaret	Price, Marlene	Amatneek, William
Hollic, Ada	Protzel, Judith	Angiel, Serge
Hood, Nancy	Rabinowitz, Joni	Appleby, Michael
Horn, Elizabeth	Rabinowitz, Myra	Ashton, Steve
Howard, Charlene	Radosta, Jean	Auerbach, Fred
Hrabar, Janet	Raim, Ethel	Baekstrom, Jon
Ingels, Bonita	Rojas, Goldina	Baker, Raymond
Isaacson, Julie	Rosen, Ellen	Banks, Roger
Jackson, Harriet	Rubens, Jan	Baycr, Ronald
Jamerson, Ella	Rubin, Libby	Beagarie, Claude
Jeneks, Virginia	Rukas, Joyee	Berk, Robert
Kamen, Brenda	Ryan, Susan	Berkowitz, Mitch
Katz, Ruth	Savola, Patricia	Berkowitz, Norman
Keen, Linda	Sawicki, Martha	Bernstein, Carl
Kim, Carolyn	Sbarra, Barbara	Berrard, Charles

Bestor, William	Howard, John	Petras, James
Beyea, Joe	Ingels, Donald	Prosen, Dick
Bissell, John	Iverson, Matthew	Quinlan, Donald
Boyer, Harold	Jarrico, Bill	Quinn, John
Brightly, John	Jencks, Clinton	Rabinowitz, Alau
Broudy, Ronald	Johnson, Dale	Rakochy, Andy
Brown, Raymond	Johnson, David T.	Reich, Teddy
Burgund, Reynolds	Katz, Marvin	Respler, Alan
Burns, Thomas	Kaufman, Michael D.	Riback, Walter
Butler, John	Keen, Fred	Rivers, James
Butler, Kurt	Keuin, Eliot	Rizzo, Arthur
Carr, David	Kezys, Roman	Roberts, Dean
Cloke, Kenneth	Kim, Alexander	Roberts, James
Coles, Julius	Kimerling, Noah	Roberts, Steven
Collazo, Francisco	Kutay, Steve	Robinson, Harlan
Collins, Fred	Kurzman, Dave	Robinson, Perry
Crain, William	Kurzweil, Jack	Rosen, Charles
Crockard, Gilbert	Lahr, William	Rosencrantz, Armin
Crump, John	Lamb, Robert	Rosenshine, Daniel
Curry, Francis	Leader, Sheldon	Rosenstein, Paul
Danforth, Nicholas	Lebowitz, Martin	Ross, Robert
Davidson, Oliver	Leichtung, Martin	Rubin, Barry
Dew, Edward	Leiken, Samuel	Rubin, Roger
Dixon, Bill	Libson, Lionel	Sack, Richard
Doane, John	Lippe, Hans	Sachar, Jeff
Duval, David	Luckock, Robert	Saltzberg, Harris
Ehrlich, Theodore	McDonald, Jimmie	Sarra, Nicholas
Eisenhandler, Eric	McDowell, Gaylord	Schiff, Paul
Elsila, David	McRae, Harold	Schoen-Rene, Ernst
Eppes, James	Mac, Roman	Schwartz, Allen
Feingold, Lawrence	Mackler, Jeff	Scott, Robert
Fisher, John	Massie, Henry	Shapiro, Edward
Fisher, Mark	Mazelis, Jack	Shapiro, Joe
Forbes, Waldo	Meigs, John	Shapiro, Toby
Francis, John	Mejuto, James	Sheehan, Mark
Frank, Barney	Mellen, James	Shepp, Archie
Frishkoff, Bruce	Melvin, Robert	Sherman, Richard
Gainer, Robert	Mendelson, Simon	Shriver, George
Gelber, Arnold	Mensch, Steven	Shulman, Lawrence
Glaser, Daniel	Mertens, Thomas	Silverman, Jerry
Glick, Bryan	Michelson, Stephan	Simon, Alvin
Goldman, Lawrence	Mikaliss, Anthony	Sloan, James
Goodell, Charles	Miller, Donald	Smallwood, Harold
Gordon, Steve	Miller, Leonard	Smith, Joshua
Gross, Joseph	Miller, Robert	Solomon, Bruce
Grothe, Peter	Moore, Ronald	Sprague, Peter
Gruber, Robert	Morel, Harry	Steinberg, Brian
Gsovski, Daniel	Morrison, James	Steinberg, Peter
Haborak, George	Mostrom, Thomas	Stenphenson, Edward
Haley, Edward	Murary, Hugh	Stevens, Edward
Hallinan, Michael	Myerson, Michael	Stokstad, Robert
Hallinan, Terence	Needleman, David	Stone, Mandel
Hamlin, Chris	Newcomer, James	Supriano, Harold
Harding, Timothy	Newman, Lawrence	Syvertsen, Reider
Hawley, Jim	Nier, Harry	Tate, James
Hayden, Thomas	Nikolausk, Alex	Terry, Thomas
Healey, Richard	Notehelfer, Fred	Tillotson, John
Hempstead, Robert	Olynky, Stephen	Thibeau, Donald
Hill, Duane	Ourlight, Boris	Tigar, Michael
Hill, Horatio	Owen, John	Toby, Jacob
Hill, Richard	Parker, Allen	Trevillion, Phil
Harsch, Leon	Pack, Robert	Uphoff, Norman
Harschmann, Henry	Perlmutter, Steve	Vago, John
Horn, Peter		Vergun, Alexei

Vitz, Paul	Weiner, Michael	Wood, Timothy
Waldman, Sidney	Weinstein, Bert	Yale, David
Walker, Hiram	Wengrofsky, Ben	Zack, Michael
Watkins, Mark	Wheeldin, Tony	Zaks, Stanley
Weaver, Harold	Wollin, Myron	Zweig, Michael

Michael Myerson, Michael Tigar and Richard Prosten not only ran preparations and recruitment for the Festival in the United States, but also dominated the American delegation in Helsinki. Paul Rosenstein, also from the United States, maintained custody of the list of American delegates which was never made accessible to any but the most trusted supporters of the Festival.

Hatred of America was the central theme, and the United States was depicted as the main source of the world's troubles. As one eyewitness, Donald Quinlan, put it:

"... not only were the seminars in the various obviously political meetings oriented to throw a bad light on Western countries, particularly the United States, but even such things as cultural programs were so arranged that the Western countries, with their amateur groups, would be in sharp contrast to the Communist countries, who came with professional groups, with well-trained people, who, in addition, were generally given more time on the program, so that the effect was to give the 'obvious superiority' of the Eastern countries and the cultural events."

"... speakers were arranged beforehand, often through the delegation chairmen, who were sympathetic toward the orientation of the Festival generally to Communism. When people did attempt to present points in favor of the United States or its Western allies, they were either not permitted to speak or, if they were, generally limited to a few minutes.

In addition, people such as the free Hungarian youth, who showed up in force at the Festival, were refused permission to speak at the Festival because they did not have the approval of their government, while at the same time exiles from Spain, who obviously did not have the approval of the Spanish government, were given positions on the program and gave full speeches. There was no question of adequate time given to pro-Western views at any of these seminars, with the exception of one free forum which was held on the last day of the Festival and for which signs were published only in English and for which the Soviet press showed up in force; with this one exception, which was a fairly free debate, it was almost entirely limited to a repetition of various 'Hate America' themes, 'Down with American Imperialism,' and that the pro-Western and anti-Communist speaker was the exception to the rule.

In addition, when people did speak on this position, they had a great deal of interference from the audience, had much of their time taken up with hand-clapping, boos, and other interruptions which would break the trend of thought and make it very difficult for them to speak.

At the closing-day parade a number of students attempted to carry signs 'No More Soviet Tests.' These signs were forcibly removed from the parade, as told to us by Mr. Hans Litek, an anti-Communist delegate from New York who saw, and took a picture of, Mr. Jean Garcias, a French Communist, who physically removed these signs from the delegates who were carrying them in the parade, so that the so-called non-political signs 'No More Hiroshimas,' 'Close Down Military Bases on Foreign Soil,' were allowed, and 'No More Soviet Tests' were not allowed in the parade."

A Helsinki paper which gave a fairly adequate report of events at the Festival printed an article concerning the membership of the Preparatory Committee that handled affairs during the organizing period that preceded the Festival itself. For the purpose of removing any doubt concerning the complete Communist domination of these youth festivals, whose propaganda is sent, without solicitation, to American colleges and universities, we quote from this article, as follows:

"Behind the well-publicized International Preparatory Committee, roughly a score of individuals carry the main burden of running this Festival. Their names are listed below. These individuals come from a variety of backgrounds. While the majority are members of their National Communist Parties, some come from other political organizations. Two-thirds are from Europe. The great majority have been active in the International Union of Students (IUS), with headquarters in Prague, or in the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), located in Budapest.

Otto Ingemar Anderson—Sweden. A Communist journalist and former member of the Editorial Board of *World Youth*, the journal of WFDY, Anderson has had prior experience in organizing such events. He is a member of the Permanent Commission (PC) of the Helsinki Festival.

Ritva Arvelo—Finland. Actor who has traveled widely in the Soviet Union and Communist China. Arvelo was a member of the PC and one of the prime movers of the Finnish Festival Committee.

Maria Bariona—Italy. A member of the Nenni Socialist Party at the time of the Vienna Festival, Bariona violated a Party request against official Festival participation by his membership on the Vienna PC. He is again participating in that capacity this year.

Bedrich Baroch—Czechoslovakia. A Communist and representative of the Czech Youth Union at the WFDY Secretariat in Budapest, Baroch has been a functionary of the Press and Information Department of the WFDY. He is a member of the PC of the Eighth Festival.

Maria Theresa Cabello—Spain. A member of the PC for the Helsinki Festival, Miss Cabello was a Communist who has been living in recent years in Budapest and working in the WFDY headquarters.

Jose Bezerra Cavalcante—Brazil. Chairman of the Student Commission for the Helsinki Festival, Cavalcante is a representative of the National Union of Students of Brazil (UNEB). He had been a frequent delegate to IUS functions in recent years.

Vladislav G. Chevchenko (sometimes also spelled Shevshenko)—USSR. Long active in Soviet youth affairs, Chevchenko currently is deputy of Youth Organizations (CYO) of the USSR. Previously he had worked for several years in the WFDY Secretariat and was active in preparations for the Warsaw, Moscow and Vienna Festivals. He is again serving on the PC for the Eighth Festival.

Lubomir Kirolov Dramaliev—Bulgaria. A Bulgarian Communist Party member and son of Bulgaria's Ambassador to East Germany, the 37-year-old Dramaliev has been a member of the IUS Secretariat since 1957.

Christian Echard—France. Long-time member and official of the Communist Youth Organization of France, Echard became Secretary General of WFDY in August, 1957. He participated in the Constitutive Assembly which established the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) for the Vienna Festival and traveled extensively in its behalf. He is a member of the PC.

Domino Gilberto Elem—Argentina. Representative of the Argentine National Union of Students (FUA), Elem is a member of the twelve-man Liaison Committee with special emphasis on Latin American participation.

Jean Garcias—France. As Secretary General of the Vienna PC, Garcias was probably the most important public figure connected with the Seventh Festival. He is serving in the same position in Helsinki. A 37-year-old French Communist official, he worked at WFDY headquarters for five years prior to being sent to Vienna in April, 1958, to take charge of preparations for that Festival.

Ian Gornicki—Poland. An old hand in the youth movement, Gornicki's connections date back to 1949 when he was an activist of the 'Union of Fighting Youth.'

Thomas Michael Jala—Canada. A former official of the Communist Youth of Canada, Jala has been active in WFDY and a member of the editorial board of its organ, *World Youth*. He is serving on the PC for the Eighth Festival.

Victor Kinecki—Poland. Kinecki has been head of the Foreign Department of the Polish WFDY affiliate since 1955 and was involved in the Vienna Festival preparations from the outset.

Boris Ivanovitch Konovalov—USSR. Representative of the Student Council of the Committee of Youth Organizations in the USSR. A frequent contributor to the *World Student News*, the magazine of the IUS.

Gunovidjoje Margono—Indonesia. One of the Vice-Presidents of the WFDY, Margono is serving on the PC for the Helsinki Festival. He is also the leader of the Indonesian delegation to the Festival.

Giri Pelikan—Czechoslovakia. Currently President of the IUS, Pelikan has headed the organization since 1953. His experience in

youth affairs dates back even further to 1948 when he was President of the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students and at the same time as the Communist Party's Deputy from Prague and the Czech." (*Helsinki Youth News*, August 6, 1962.)

Anti-Communist and anti-Castro groups held noisy demonstrations along the route of the parade on the first day of the Festival, and were joined by young Finnish anti-Communists. Behind the scenes there was constant dissension among the 13,600 delegates from 137 nations. Forty-three members of the group from Ceylon walked out two days before the Festival ended. The University Federation of Student Societies, a national Mexican student organization, publicly declared that it would have no part of this obviously rigged Communist propaganda affair; the same was true of Colombia. The delegation from Panama consisted of three men, two resided in Cuba and one in Russia. An African youth leader quit in disgust, so did one from Indonesia. Nigerian delegate, O. Theophilus, President of the Afro-Asian Student Union at Moscow University, accused the Festival's organizers of insulting the intelligence of the participants with claims of free speech and democratic procedures. East German students escaped and sought asylum in Sweden. Rules of orderly parliamentary procedure were non-existent. Meetings were rigged, and neutrals and anti-Communists were throttled in countless ways when they attempted to dispute the tirade of abuse and criticism against the Western nations, the United States in particular. Michael Hallinan arrived at Helsinki by air on July 26, two days before the Festival opened. He had recently returned from attending a Peace Conference in the Soviet Union, and will be remembered for having participated in pro-Castro demonstrations in San Francisco. The major part of the American delegation of some 400 included about 250 left-wingers, a hard core of highly indoctrinated Communists. The rest were liberals and neutral observers and about 25 determined pro-Americans who constantly tried to stand up for their country against overwhelming odds. This growing tendency on the part of American youths to resist subversive activities is being reflected on college campuses throughout the country, where the vast majority of students are no longer sitting by and tolerating little bands of dissidents who seek to spread the doctrine of hate and subversion.

Mike Tigar gave his version of the Helsinki Festival in an article for the *People's World*, and it was reprinted in *New Horizons for Youth*, October, 1962, p. 13. This is the organ for the Youth Commission of the Communist Party, and has its office at 799 Broadway, Room 233, New York 3, N.Y. Lionel Libson is the editor, and the editorial board of eight includes Gene Robinson of San Francisco.

Tigar's account of the Festival admitted but minimized Finnish hostilities, heated dissensions in the American delegation, the stifling of anti-Communists and anti-Soviet expression. He also relates how he and Mike Myerson were bluntly told by the American Vice-Consul that the U.S. State Department was opposed to the Festival and that no agency of the American Government would co-operate with either the Festival or its delegation of young Americans—who should be defending their country from propaganda attacks.

When we published a list of SLATE members in our 1961 report, we stated that there were many liberal, non-Communist students in the organization and we described it as a Marxist-oriented group. Some ultra-left sources criticized us for "smearing" this earnest group of Berkeley students. We now see the real character of SLATE, as nine of its members were active participants at the Eighth World Youth Festival at Helsinki. They were: Dave Armor, Kenneth Cloke, Michael Hallinan, Terrence Hallinan, Clinton Jencks, Monica Klein, Beryl Landau, Michael Myerson and Michael Tigar. Three of these, Myerson, Tigar and Cloke, were the immediate past leaders of SLATE at the University in Berkeley. Carl Bloice, although not a formal member of SLATE, is so closely connected with it that the question of his membership becomes purely academic. He also attended the Helsinki Fence Festival and will be remembered as the Communist leader of SLATE's Southern California counterpart, the Independent Student Union. Bloice is now a staff member for the Communist paper *People's World*.

Communist Youth Commission

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stated in 1960 that the Communist Party had launched a major campaign with youth as its target. He pointed out that following conferences in New York City during May of 1959, twenty young Communists from major cities throughout the country were instructed to concentrate on a program to attract teenagers, students and working youth to the ranks of the Party. After these conferences, Mr. Hoover stated, campuses throughout the nation became targets for Communist infiltration and recruitment efforts. In a document entitled "Communist Target—Youth," Mr. Hoover stated: "To establish a closer link between the Party and its youth groups, two of the most promising and active young Communists, Mortimer Daniel Rubin and Danny Queen, were included in the Party's National Committee. A long-time Party functionary, Hyman Lumer, was relieved of all responsibility in youth affairs, and Rubin was given full responsibility for this phase of Party activity."

Burton White, a former member of the faculty at the University of California in Berkeley, has been traveling from one state to another propagandizing against the House Committee on Un-American Activities and generally abetting the current Communist Party line in this country. Following his persistent harangues on the campus of the state university to crowds of students, his collaboration with SLATE in fomenting the demonstrations against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, the university declined to renew his contract, and White has since devoted a great deal of his time to assisting in the manipulation of young people toward the Communist viewpoint.

In August, 1962, Mort Rubin, in his capacity as the newly-appointed National Youth Director of the Communist Party, came to Columbus, Ohio, for the Fifteenth Annual Congress of the National Student Association. With him were two aides, representatives of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front organization dedicated

to the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Field Representative for this organization is the ubiquitous Frank Wilkinson, and the aides who appeared with Rubin were Philip Abbott Luce and Burton White. Many of the controversial resolutions introduced during the Congress were originated by Rubin and White, and the former expressed great satisfaction at some of these measures passed by almost a thousand delegates and alternates who represented two hundred ninety-two American colleges and universities. The Keystone Resolution was a condemnation of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, and other resolutions defended the right of rioting Japanese students to demonstrate against President Eisenhower, praise of Fidel Castro for his educational reforms; condemnation of the discharge of Communist teachers; opposition to loyalty oaths for students receiving Federal loans; denunciation of nuclear tests by the United States, and general attacks against the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Burton White was in Berkeley recently, and was invited to address approximately two hundred students at a Berkeley high school. We shall have more to say about his activities in the section dealing with the Encampment for Citizenship.

In addition to *New Horizons for Youth*, another Communist publication has been created since we published our 1961 report, and is specifically aimed at university and college students. It is entitled *Communist Viewpoint, a Youth and Student Publication*, the editor is Daniel Rubin, the managing editor is Fred Gilman, and it is published by Marxist Youth Publications, Associates, Room 305, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N.Y. This publication is specifically intended for distribution on the campuses of educational institutions throughout the country, and its contents are especially designed to present an attractive view of Communism and to engender hate for all investigating committees in the field of un-American activities, the F.B.I., the Smith Act, the McCarran Act; it opposes the installation of fallout shelters, preparations for defense; it aims toward stifling of patriotism, and everything else that offers the slightest obstacles to the advance of the Communizing of the United States.

We predicted in our 1961 report that there would be resurgence on the part of the Communist Party to indoctrinate and attract youth. Subsequent events have fully corroborated our prediction, and the wide distribution of these two Communist youth publications has produced a noticeable effect. There has been a gradual, steady response to the concept that Communism may not be so bad, after all, and educational institutions that once were intended as places for serious study are even considering throwing open their portals to those who would preach the destruction of our way of life, the subversion of our government, and the substitution of a totalitarian regime. Universities, long respected as places of culture and dignity, are now being characterized by bearded beatniks, pressure groups, malcontents, hordes of marching pickets, and an insistency on conformity toward the Left. Under the guise of academic freedom, apostles of the class struggle unite in a chorus of indignation at any attempt to hold an anti-Communist school, and at the same time participate in the activities of a score of Communist front organizations.

It is gratifying to this Sub-Committee to see the state university beginning to condone the participation on the part of some of its faculty members in anti-Communist schools of instruction—vigorously opposed by the Communist Party. We should add that a few days after our 1961 report, containing a lengthy and detailed exposure of SLATE, was published in the early summer of 1961, the organization was banned from the university campus, and has since been compelled to function separate and apart from the university. Whether or not our report played any part in this forthright action on the part of the university administration we have no way of knowing, but in our opinion it was at least a fortunate coincidence.

As long as there is a Communist movement in the United States, there will be a determined effort to indoctrinate and recruit the youth of the country. It is only natural that in California, with its immense student population concentrated on the various campuses of the State University, that much of the attention of the Communist Youth Commission should be aimed in its direction. Anyone who has taken the trouble to read reliable books about the infiltration of the Latin American countries will realize what a simple matter it is, once Communists have gained a solid foothold in a university, to stifle all academic opposition and virtually take charge of the institution.

Encampment for Citizenship

In 1961 and in 1962, during a six-week period in the summer, an educational institution called "Encampment for Citizenship" held courses of instruction in Berkeley. Students were solicited through the mailing of descriptive brochures to various colleges and universities as well as by personal contact. At the conclusion of the 1961 session we received letters from outraged parents, and some from students who had attended the Encampment for Citizenship, complaining that while the brochures described the school as a place where young people could be taught the fundamental requisites for becoming good American citizens, actually they were brought into daily contact with instructors who had long records of Communist front affiliation, and were taught contempt for American institutions, hatred of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and an intensive Left indoctrination.

Encampment for Citizenship is eighteen years old, and we make no charge that it is wholly subversive, but we do point out that many parents would assuredly have kept their children as far away as possible from exposure to the beliefs and teachings of Burton White, a colleague of the national head of the Communist Youth Commission, and from Paul Robeson, Harry Bridges, and the lists of recommended books that were slanted so far leftward that they almost achieved the horizontal.

If the advance publicity had been honest and forthright in stating that by teaching citizenship the encampment meant to deride conservatism and respect for our institutions—then at least the parents might have had some opportunity to make a choice. Not all of the instructors, nor all of the sponsors, nor, indeed, all of the financial supporters of

the Encampments for Citizenship are subversive. We are convinced that many of them have no idea that the organization is headed and operated by individuals with Communist front records dating back to the late 30's and continuing in a ceaseless pattern to date. This is frequently the case with large charitable foundations that are founded on sound and humanitarian motives, but are invaded and captured by a small dedicated group of determined radicals who manage to switch the activities of the foundations into channels never contemplated by their founders.

In 1961 the Encampment for Citizenship at Berkeley was held at Ridge Hall (this is not on the university campus, and has no connection with the University of California), from June 25th through August 5, 1961. There was a total enrollment of 83 students, of whom 35 were from California and 16 from New York. The others were drawn from various states and a few from abroad. Burton White, former English instructor at the University of California at Berkeley, prepared a list of recommended reading for the students, placing asterisks after those titles he particularly recommended. The texts on Mr. White's list included: Barth, Alan: "Loyalty of Free Men;" Berns, Walter: "Freedom, Virtue and the Fifth Amendment;" Chaffee, Zachariah, Jr.: "Free Speech in the United States;" Baldwin, Roger: "Civil Liberties Foundation;" Commager, Henry Steele: "Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent;" Davis, Elmer: "But We Were Born Free;" Donner, Frank J.: "The Un-Americans;" Douglas, William O.: "An Almanac of Liberty;" B'Nai B'Rith Anti-Defamation League of New York: "A Living Bill of Rights;" Griswold, Erwin: "The Fifth Amendment Today;" Fraenkel, Osmond K.: "The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties;" Lamong, Corliss: "Freedom Is As Freedom Does;" Meiklejohn, Alexander: "Political Freedom;" Rogge, O. John: "The First and the Fifth."

Circulated among the students was "In Search of Truth"—an Analysis of the HCUA Propaganda Film, "Operation Abolition," by Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1723 Francisco Street, Berkeley 3.

Among the courses given at the 1961 session of Encampment for Citizenship were these:

Democracy—And Challenges To It in 1961, Robert Whalen, formerly an instructor at the University of California at Berkeley, and in 1961 teaching at the South Alameda County Junior College; Politics In Government, by Robert Whalen; Civil Liberties, by Burton White; Civil Rights and Human Relations, by Inge Powell and George Sakheim; Economics, by Beverly Tangri; International Affairs, by Edmond Reiter; The Political Process and Parties, by Robert Whalen; American Governmental Structure—Its Strength and Weaknesses, Robert Whalen; A Free Press, by Dr. Floyd W. Matson, Department of Speech, University of California at Berkeley; The Nature of Compromise, by Aron Gilmartin, Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church, Walnut Creek; Conversations With Charles Patterson, Council for Civic Unity, San Francisco, and the Fund For the Republic; The Shaping of Civil Liberties Through Court Decision, by Al Bendich, Speech Department, University of California at Berkeley, and former attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union in San Francisco; National Security

and Individual Freedom, by Burton White; Ballad for Americans, a song by Paul Robeson; Housing Discrimination in Berkeley, "Operation Abolition," and "Sounds of Protest," by Burton White; Our Prejudiced Community, by Dr. Earl Raab, Jewish Community Relations Council, San Francisco; Social Structure and Law, by Inge Powell, Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley; Conversation With Saal Lesser, Executive Director, Encampment for Citizenship; Personal Experiences With Discrimination: Students of Foreign Descent; Social Meeting and Program with Dave Weingarden, Psychiatric Social Worker from Los Angeles; How Fair Employment?, by Herman Gallegos, Field Representative, San Francisco area, California Fair Employment Practice Commission; Origin and Development of the Conscience and of a Sense of Values, by George Sakheim, Assistant Leader, New York Society for Ethical Culture; Freedom Riders, by Ed Blankenheim, Representative of the Committee on Racial Equality; Rebuilding a Community Through Citizen Action, by Dr. Herbert Thelin, University of Chicago; Staff Panel on Democracy, by Aron Gilmartin, Ed Reiter, Inge Powell, Beverly Tangri, Bob Whalen, Burton White; Conversation With George Sakheim; An Examination of Jazz, by Philip Elwood, University of California Extension and Radio Commentator over KPFA; The U.S. Economy, by Beverly Tangri, of San Francisco State College; The Welfare State, by Dr. Hugh Folk, University of California instructor in Economics; Big Business, The Corporation in American Economy, by Dr. Theodore Kreps, Stanford University; A Visit To Local Ten, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union and Talk With Its President, S. Erikkila; also with William Chester, Regional Director, ILWU; Talk With Harry Huwick, Standard Fruit Company. Talk With Mr. Robertson, Pacific Maritime Association, Talk With Harry Bridges, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco; Films: Bitter Harvest, Harvest of Shame, with appropriate comments by Norman Smith, Director of the Agriculture Workers Organizing Committee; Economic Development in Foreign Aid, by Beverly Tangri; The Soviet Economy, by Dr. Benjamin Ward, Department of Economics, University of California at Berkeley; Conversation With Burton White; Freedom Rally; Civil Liberties in the 30's, Panel on Cuba, by Edmond Reiter, William Ross, and students; The American Ethical Union, by Dr. Barbara Raines, Foothill Society for Ethical Culture, Pasadena; Field Trips to Steel Works: U.S. Steel, United Steel Workers of America, Columbia-Geneva Steel, Talks With Floyd Reis, Assistant Superintendent of Community Relations and John MacArthur, Director of Industrial Relations, and also with William and Anthony Milano of Local 1440; Ways Towards Peace, by Robert Pickus, of Acts for Peace, and American Friends Service Committee; The United States and Latin America, by Dr. Benjamin Frankel, St. Mary's College; Conversations With Barbara Raines, George Sakheim, and Paul Jacobs, contributing editor to *The Reporter* and consultant to the Fund for the Republic; Authority vs. The Individual, by Aron S. Gilmartin; Workshop On Civil Liberties; Workshops on Economics, Civil Rights, Human Relations; Reports on Politics and Government, International Affairs Workshops, and general meetings on Sensitivity and Inter-Personal Relations.

The 1962 session of Encampment for Citizenship at Berkeley was signalized by some important changes in the list of sponsors, many of those who had supported the institution in 1961 having been replaced by others. We have insufficient space to elaborate further on this activity, but point out that the National Educational Director of Encampment for Citizenship is Algernon D. Black, who has been affiliated with a list of twenty-one Communist front organizations commencing in the late 30's and continuing to date. Some of these have been declared Communist-dominated by the Attorney General of the United States, and all of them have been cited as subversive organizations by various official agencies operating in the counter-subversive field. The organizations with which Dr. Black has been affiliated are: American Committee to Save Refugees; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Student Union; American Youth Congress; Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo; Council for Pan-American Democracy; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; The League of American Writers; The American-Russian Institute; The National Emergency Conference; The Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio; The Reichstag Fire Anniversary; The American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born; Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Committee on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; National Council on Soviet-American Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; International Workers Order; and Civil Rights Congress.

Langdon Post was the director for the 1962 Encampment for Citizenship at Berkeley. He has been affiliated with the American Youth Congress, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Spanish Refugee Appeal, and Congress of American-Soviet Friendship—all having been cited by official agencies as Communist front organizations.

As we have pointed out, many of the supporting organizations for Encampment for Citizenship are far from subversive, and many of the persons who actively participated in the 1961 and 1962 Encampments are sincere liberals with no record whatever of Communist front affiliation or any connection with subversive activity. This, as we have stated many times, is characteristic of all organizations that are controlled by a tightly-knit little group of pro-Communist radicals who operate the fronts, write the propaganda publications, gain control of important trade union organizations, and infiltrate and endeavor to capture any organization that will serve their purposes. Some of the supporting organizations, however, will be familiar to readers of these reports, and they include: American Civil Liberties Union; American Freedoms Council; Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; National Committee to Abolish Un-American Activities Committee; Religious Liberty Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Acts for Peace; American Association for the UN; American Field Service; American Friends Service Committee; American Society for

International Law; Carnegie Foundation Endowment for International Peace; Collegiate Council for the United Nations; Committee of Correspondence; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Experiment in International Living; Foreign Policy Association; Friends Committee on National Legislation; Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; Society for Social Responsibility in Science; Student Peace Union; United World Federalists; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

We should also point out that other organizations that have supported Encampment for Citizenship include the National Association of Manufacturers; National Farmers Union; National Planning Association; Public Affairs Institute; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; American Jewish Committee; American Veterans Committee; Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations, and a number of colleges and universities.

THE BLACK MUSLIMS

In 1961 we published the results of our study of the Black Muslim Movement in California. The report was submitted to the Senate and in May and in December a brother Bernard X delivered to the office of the Senate Committee on Rules a copy of *Muhammad Speaks*, published by the Black Muslim National office at 5333 S. Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. This particular issue of the paper was distributed by Muhammad's Mosque, 3545 Rio Linda Blvd., Del Paso Heights, California.

Elijah H. Muhammad, messenger of Allah, (formerly known as Elijah Poole) commented on our 1961 report. He declared that we charged his movement with indoctrining young Negroes with hatred of all white men. He denied this, saying: "This is untrue, for we only teach them who you really are;" but later he refers to "... our open enemies, the white people." He also maintained that "... we have not been anything other than a peaceful people who have never carried weapons, nor have we made any aggressive moves or attacks on anyone." This contention is, of course, belied by accounts of Black Muslim attacks on police officers, and riots in penal institutions.

Our report stated the Elijah Poole went from Georgia to Michigan when he was sixteen years of age. He says he was twenty-five when he made the trip; we stated that he was arrested for various minor offenses, and served a penitentiary term. He says his arrests commenced in 1934; he attested to the accuracy of the Twelve-Point Program of the Black Muslims printed in our report, but again protests that "... it is absolutely false to accuse us of violence or preparing to do anything of the kind. Allah (God) forbids us to do such a thing."

Elijah Poole met W. D. Fard at Detroit in 1930. The latter stated that he came from Mecca, but the records showed that he had served a term in San Quentin Penitentiary on a narcotics conviction, and that in Chicago he had been persuaded by Negro cultist Noble Drew Ali to become a Prophet of Islam. The following year, 1931, Fard and Poole founded Islam Temple No. 1, and Fard bestowed on Poole the title

"Muhammad First Minister of Islam." Fard disappeared in 1934, Poole took over, and this was the inception of the Black Muslim movement in the United States which now comprises a membership of between 50 and 100 thousand. Poole has recently claimed a membership of 200 thousand. There is no question that the movement is not only growing rapidly, especially in New York and California, and that the organization has many sympathizers who are not formal members. The movement is generally known as a vigorously racist, anti-American and sometimes violent organization that falsely claims to represent Islam, or Mohammedanism. Dr. Muhammad T. Mehdi, the Director of the Arab Information Center in San Francisco, has declared that the Black Muslims are not recognized among any Mohammedan religious leaders, a statement that has been echoed by other Moslem leaders in this country.

While it is true that the Black Muslim movement has preached a hatred of white people, there is no question about its accomplishing much good for many of its own members. The men usually wear black suits, ties and shoes and are formally polite. The women use no cosmetics, and are usually dressed in white. Members of the organization have eliminated pork from their frugal diet of one meal a day. They pray at least three times daily, scrupulously attend their services, use no alcohol or tobacco, and never marry outside their own race and sect. Each member pledges as high as one-third of his income to the movement, and they patronize only businesses owned by other members. This rigid discipline and fanatic faith have produced amazing results in rehabilitating many semi-literate Negroes who were alcoholics, drug addicts, and habitual criminals. At mass meetings, however, the studied restraints vanish, and members are soon aroused to a high emotional fervor, chanting in unison and responding to the speakers with a zeal that is both spectacular and powerful. The meetings are guarded by members of the Fruit of Islam, muscular young Negroes who are taught to be proficient in judo and karate.

It is to be noted that on Saturday, April 28, 1962, one member of the Black Muslim movement was shot and killed and six others were wounded in a shooting battle with police at the Mohammed Mosque No. 27 at 5605 So. Broadway, Los Angeles. Seventy-five police officers were required to quell the riot which started when two officers stopped to examine a car loaded with clothing and the occupants resisted. The case is now being tried in the Superior Court in Los Angeles County.

On June 25, 1962, police responded to a riot call from a cafe at Seventh and Willow in West Oakland. Seven Negroes were jailed, three police officers were injured, and the fighting that started in the cafe when the defendants resisted arrest, erupted again when they were joined by some of their colleagues in the police station. Officers reported the same anti-white chants that were also noted in connection with the Los Angeles riot and shootings.

Charles E. Casey, an assistant to the director of the Department of Corrections in California, has stated that friction between Black Muslims and other inmates of penal institutions causes a great deal of trouble. On February 25, 1963, a Black Muslim leader in San Quentin was shot and killed by a guard who was endeavoring to stop

sudden fighting in the exercise yard where twenty-three trouble-makers had been placed. A few days later twenty-seven Black Muslim prisoners refused to work. Prison authorities have reported that in May of 1962 there were 219 Muslims in California penal institutions: 61 at San Quentin, 56 at Folsom, 20 at Soledad, 16 at Los Padres, 7 at Vacaville, 2 at Chino, 2 at Tracy, and 1 at Tehachapi.

On February 26 and 27, 1963, a national convention of the Black Muslim movement was held at Chicago. Elijah Poole was prevented from attending by reason of ill health, but his spokesman announced the movement would, for the first time, co-operate with other Negro groups. Theretofore the organization had remained aloof, and expressed some contempt for other movements that were attempting to achieve integration through non-violent methods, which the Muslims regarded as an indication of weakness. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Committee on Racial Equality have rejected the offer, however, because, as one of their leaders expressed it, these organizations are interested in achieving an integrated society where each member is judged on his own merits rather than his color or race, and they wish to attain this objective by non-violent, direct methods. The Chicago convention was attended by 4,000 delegates.

The Communist position toward the Black Muslim movement in the United States was expressed by Claude Lightfoot, prominent Negro Communist, in a lecture delivered at the Washington Park Forum in Chicago on February 18, 1962. He pointed out that the Black Muslims have grown because they have reclaimed thousands of Negroes the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations "would not touch with a ten-foot pole." Lightfoot pointed out that in the early 30's the Communist Party of the United States had adopted the concept that the Negro population of the United States constituted "an oppressed nation within a nation," and that a Black society should be inaugurated in this country. That concept was abandoned immediately before World War II, but re-examined and re-adopted in 1946. Thus the official attitude of the Communist Party of the United States is parallel to that of the Negro Muslim movement, and Mr. Lightfoot concluded his remarks by admonishing Communists that they "are duty-bound to go among our Muslim brothers and to help light an understanding among them. For in winning them to more positive concepts we will help to enlist people who hold nationalist sentiments in the great battle for freedom in the United States."

The Black Muslims have mosques in every major California city, have regular radio programs over several stations in Southern California, and have recently published a list of their radio outlets in Northern California as follows: Alameda, Avon, Benicia, Berkeley, Felton, Helena, Niles, Oakland, San Anselmo, San Mateo, San Rafael, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, Sausalito, San Jose, Suisun, and Vallejo.

At the present time, in Black Muslim mosques throughout the country, an allegorical play is being presented which highlights the race hatred of the organization, and which is presented in the form of a court trial of the white race, at which the members of the Black Muslim group are prosecutors and jury.

THE HATE GROUPS

The Communist Party is undoubtedly the largest hate group the world has ever seen, since its entire ideology is based on class hatred—a savage, relentless war against those who own the means by which wealth is produced. We tend to lose sight of this fact, basic and vital though it is, as we are confronted daily by smothering clouds of propaganda portraying Communists as gentle humanitarians with whom we should collaborate to achieve Utopia.

In former years we have investigated and reported on the activities of other hate groups, some anti-Semitic, some anti-Catholic, some pro-Fascist and therefore anti-American. Some of these are also anti-Communist, and, as we have pointed out earlier, previous reports contain sections on the Ku Klux Klan, Friends of Progress, Mankind United, German-American Bund, Silver Shirts, Knights of the White Camellia, Italian Fascists, Gadar Party, Anti-American Japanese Groups, Trotskyites, Black Muslims, and many others.

Now there is a fresh new crop of these hate organizations. Few of them are connected with a national movement, but are usually composed of a few members who occasionally maintain tenuous contacts with similar local groups. Probably the smallest of these autonomous groups was the American Republican Army, which consisted of two men: Bernard Jerome Brous, 52, and Dale Christian Jensen, 25. Their animosity toward the government and big business prompted them to dynamite three telephone communication towers in 1961. They are now serving prison terms.

The American Nazi Party, headed by George Lincoln Rockwell, of Arlington, Virginia, is a national organization in name only. There are small units in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and in some large cities in other states. But there is no central command. Some of these groups are wholly independent, calling themselves Nazis, but having no organizational structure. They are counterparts of Rockwell's Nazis, wear uniforms that vary considerably from one group to another, display German-Nazi emblems and relics, pictures of Hitler, and affect a tough, aloof attitude as they march in picket lines.

In November, 1961, three young people paraded in front of the Los Angeles State Building with signs protesting the shipping of jet planes from the United States to Yugoslavia. It would appear that they picketed the wrong building, symbolically at least, and should have been at the Federal Building, a few blocks away. These young pickets caused no damage and attracted little attention until one of them announced that he was the local leader of the American Nazi Party. He was Leonard Holstein, 21, accompanied by his wife, Bonnie, 19, and their friend, Donald Smith, 19.

On April 13, 1963, five men in Nazi uniforms picketed a Los Angeles rally of Women's International Strike for Peace, and were roughly handled by the crowd. On April 28, 1963, five young men wearing the same or similar uniforms picketed at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles where Israel's Fifteenth Anniversary was being celebrated. On this occasion there was more than rough handling, as a fist fight developed, police were summoned, and nine persons were injured, in-

cluding four officers, before the disturbance could be controlled. Four of the picketing Nazis were arrested. They were Leonard Holstein, Lyle McLaughlin, William Krauss, and Marvin Reeves. The fifth, Clifford Huss, surrendered to police the following day.

In January of this year three members of an Oakland motorcycle club known as Hell's Angels were arrested for rape and possession of marijuana. At their headquarters was found a Swastika flag, material praising Hitler, and a supply of pornographic literature. Police reported the existence of Hell's Angels Motorcycle Clubs at Martinez, Richmond, Vallejo and probably in Southern California, but are convinced there is no real connection between them and the fifty-member Oakland unit. No evidence of pro-Hitler or Nazi inclination has been reported in connection with any of the other clubs of the same name.

National States Rights Party

The National States Rights Party has recently appeared in Southern California. It originally seemed to be a truly national organization, and we have since verified the fact that its headquarters are situated in Birmingham, Alabama. This organization is, in our opinion, more potentially dangerous than any of the American Nazi groups, as it is interested in activities that are far more vigorous and direct than the picketing that has become so popular in this country during the past few years.

On Friday, February 8, 1963, the National States Rights Party held an open meeting in the South Room of the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles. The eighty-six people who comprised the audience were addressed by Neuman R. Britten, Wesley Swift, James Thornton and James Bretner. Conrad Lynch was identified as the State Organizer, James Thornton as California Director and James Bretner as State Chaplain. Wesley Swift was the first speaker, and declared that his organization paid no attention to laws; that it would decide which meetings would be broken up, and that no one could ever break up a National States Rights meeting. As he spoke, five members of the Security Division, large young men in blue uniforms, stood at their stations about the room. This security unit is headed by Neuman Britten. Behind the speaker's dais was an American flag and the N.S.R.P. banner, a Confederate flag on which was superimposed a thunderbolt. Neuman Britten declared that he could eliminate all Negroes and Jews "without batting an eye;" James Thornton said that both Communism and Capitalism had been organized by Jews and maintained that the N.S.R.P. was not only growing rapidly, but would carry their crusade "... against the enemies, the Jews, and their stooges *right into their own homes*;" James Bretner advised the audience to "... get you some guns."

As the meeting ended, a minor scuffle occurred when one of the N.S.R.P. members recognized Lionel Rolfe, *People's World* reporter who had been taking notes. Both Rolfe and the young lady who accompanied him (a U.C.L.A. student) were threatened with injury if they came to another N.S.R.P. meeting. The *People's World* published an account of this affair in its issue for February 15, but neglected to give the name of its reporter.

Near the little community of Devore in San Bernardino County on Friday evening, February 22, 1963, the N.S.R.P. held another meeting. Its attempts to secure halls from the local Grange and Veterans of Foreign Wars were rejected when the nature of the organization became known. This meeting also generated raw race hatred. Conrad Lynch said the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Office had been subjected to Jewish pressure that caused the Grange and the V.F.W. to refuse use of their facilities. James Thornton attacked the Communists. James Britten, who wore the N.S.R.P. uniform of black or dark blue shirt and trousers, black Sam Browne belt, helmet liner and arm band with the thunderbolt device, gave a particularly vicious and menacing address, threatening violence to anyone who presumed to interfere with this organization's program. He was followed by his brother Rufus, who also wore the N.S.R.P. uniform and whose remarks were somewhat more moderate but nevertheless bristling with slurring references to "Niggers, Jews, Reds, and Latin-Americans."

Paul Walker, of Ontario, made some brief remarks and announced that he was in the process of starting a chapter in his city. He wore a white shirt with white shoulder straps edged in black, a Sam Browne belt and dark trousers.

Neuman R. Britten spoke next, and made the most dynamic, vicious, hate-filled talk of the evening. His venomous abuse of Negroes, Jews and Communists was uttered with vehemence and anger.

James Thornton, who does not speak with the same heavy Southern accent as the others, exercised more self-control and seemed to hold an authoritative position in the organization. He spent much time conferring with Connie C. Lynch, State Organizer, who was overheard to say that when he came to California from the South he intended to remain for only two weeks, but found he was so badly needed to organize the movement in California that he stayed several months.

After the February 22nd meeting Lynch, Rufus and Neuman Britten, Donald B. Delano, 20, and Michael Hitchens, 20, stopped for coffee at a Highland Avenue cafe in San Bernardino. Some of them were still wearing their uniforms, and they were accosted by Emilio Parker, 17, and other unfriendly teenagers. A fight ensued, and someone wounded Parker with a pellet-gun. The N.S.R.P. members were arrested and Neuman and Rufus Britten, who are in the plastering business in San Bernardino, were found guilty of battery and disturbing the peace and fined \$500. Lynch, who is employed by the Brittens, was fined \$200 for disturbing the peace. The three have declared that they will appeal the case. Donald Delano is a student at the Riverside campus of the University of California, and Michael Hitchens attends Santa Ana Junior College.

The National States Rights Party distributes two publications, *Attack*, which deals with California matters principally, and *Thunderbolt*, published in Birmingham, Alabama, by the national organization.

We have found no connection between the N.S.R.P. and Rockwell's American Nazi Party; nor have we found any connection with the Los Angeles group led by Leonard Holstein. During the past two years there has been an epidemic of bombings, swastikas smeared on syna-

gogues, campaigns of abusive telephone calls and active acts of violence. Whether or not these outrages can be attributed to any of the organizations mentioned above, we are unable to say, as police investigation has as yet failed to establish the responsibility for these acts.

Meetings of the National States Rights Party are conducted on a high emotional pitch, at which Neuman Britten is especially adept. He arouses his audiences to frenzies of hatred as he exhorts them to "pick up the fallen banner of Nazism," and urges a fascist American government to wrest the nation from domination by "Niggers, Communists and Jews." Speaker after speaker at these affairs has bluntly threatened and advocated the use of immediate physical violence, and the audiences are composed of many young men of the type who appear susceptible to this combination of hatred and violence.

In our last report we described the anti-Semitism that existed at Elsinore. It still exists, although extremists of both Right and Left are far less active than they were in 1959 and 1960. An example of the persistent bitterness in this community is seen in the account published in the *Riverside Daily Enterprise* on November 10, 1962, relating how Loyd Longe and William Butler were fined and placed on probation for attempting to forcibly disrupt facilities at the Elsinore Democratic Headquarters to prevent the telecasting of election returns.

A chapter of the John Birch Society has been formed in Elsinore since our 1961 report appeared, and many of the persons of a pro-Communist persuasion mentioned therein (some of whom appear on CLIC and CCPAF mailing lists) are attributing all of the local troubles on what they term secret units of the John Birch Society.

It would have been difficult to find groups of people more diligent, emotional and bitter than the few persons who were largely responsible for the situation at Elsinore that we described in 1961. On one side a handful of self-appointed investigators who operated without authority and with complete irresponsibility and lack of restraint. On the other side were a few persistent Communist front activists, equally irresponsible and emotional. Caught in the valleys of cross-fire between these two tiny factions were large numbers of liberals and conservatives who were wholly innocent of radicalism of any variety. Some of the members of these two factions are still residing in Elsinore, and just so long as they can continue to attack each other from concealed positions, the unsettled condition in this little community will continue to exist.

THE MOCK TRIAL

We received an official copy of a resolution passed by the 23rd District Americanism Commission, Los Angeles Council of the American Legion, shortly before our 1961 report went to the printer, and we reproduced it on pages 84-86 thereof. It was signed by Mr. William B. Hillman, Adjutant.

The resolution stated, in effect, that on December 2, 1960, some mock trials were held by Drs. George Korber and James Lien at Long Beach State College for the benefit of their classes, wherein the students were given the clear impression that the House Committee on

Un-American Activities was a legitimate subject for ridicule and contempt, the American Civil Liberties Union was depicted as the protector of the American way of life, and the students were specifically advised and urged to join the A.C.L.U. This was the essence of the resolution, which contained much detail concerning the ridicule of the House Committee and praise for the A.C.L.U. as one of its most articulate critics.

After the publication of the report letters were received from Dr. Korber, protesting that the American Legion account of the affair was not entirely accurate, and that he was concerned lest readers of the report would draw the inference that he and Dr. Lien were disloyal.

On January 3, 1962, the Committee wrote to Dr. Korber and suggested that he and Dr. Lien submit an affidavit setting forth their position and their version of what happened. On January 6th Dr. Korber wrote stating that "we intend to prepare an affidavit and forward it to you within the next few weeks," and on the 11th of that month a letter was sent to him stating that we would "be expecting the affidavit in due course."

On November 13, 1962, Dr. Korber wrote to the Committee and stated that he had decided not to submit an affidavit, but he attached a notarial jurat to his original letter of November 24, 1961, which had been addressed to Senator Burns. This letter quoted an item published in the *Long Beach Independent* on December 3, 1960, which Dr. Korber stated provides an accurate account of what occurred. We herewith print Dr. Korber's comment and the article to which he referred:

"A brief but accurate eye-witness account of what happened during the 'Mock Trials' was written by Mr. Bob Houser (whom I did not know at that time) and published in the *Long Beach Independent* on December 3, 1960. The entire passage from Mr. Houser's article relating to my role in the program is quoted below:

'Dr. George Korber, another faculty advisor, who also was one of the mock hearings witnesses, said "under oath" he felt more college students should avail themselves of A.C.L.U. membership, that through it, they could keep the American way of life, "things of sacred concern to the A.C.L.U."'

Some are actually willing to kill the American way of life to preserve it—willing to use the methods of totalitarian countries. But whenever such methods are used, we have lost the American way of life.' "

Since Dr. Korber and his associate, Dr. James Lien, did not see fit to avail themselves of our offer to submit an affidavit setting forth their position and indicating wherein the American Legion was erroneous, we must assume that the matters not contradicted specifically must be accurate. Those portions of the resolution not disputed alleged that Drs. Korber and Lien staged a Mock Trial of an imaginary hearing conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities during which that Committee was ridiculed and treated with sarcasm, while the American Civil Liberties Union was highly praised.

Elsewhere in Dr. Korber's letter is some language which we believe should be reproduced here. "Both of us (referring to himself and Dr. Lien) are somewhat conservative in our basic philosophies; we are pro-American, anti-Communist, anti-Communist front, anti-John Birch, anti-any totalitarian system of beliefs."

The Committee accepts these statements in lieu of the affidavit we requested with the comment that we make no suggestion that either Dr. Korber or Dr. Lien have been engaged in any subversive activity or affiliated with any subversive organization.

As to the propriety and wisdom of these two instructors holding up the Congressional Committee to contempt and simultaneously urging their class to join the American Civil Liberties Union—or any other organization, for that matter, is a question the reader must determine. This program was held seven months after the student riots against the same Congressional Committee in San Francisco, and while the controversy over the film "Operation Abolition" was at its peak.

CONCLUSION

As this report is being concluded, the Regents of the University of California are being petitioned by groups of the faculty and students to revoke the rule which forbids Communists from speaking on the university campuses. The American Civil Liberties Union has provided counsel now engaged in a legal battle to force the Regents to open the doors of the university at Riverside to Communist propagandists. The A.C.L.U. does not allow Communists to hold office in its own organization, but insists that they be permitted to brain-wash students at the state university. The Communist Party has expressed great satisfaction with the results that have accrued through sending its representatives to any university or college that would allow the use of its facilities.

As we continue to read of student riots, picket lines, pro-Castro Committees, and former leaders of SLATE at the university in Berkeley who are now running gigantic fronts for the world Communist movement; as we witness harangues by the bearded beatnik groups on the state university campuses, we wonder why any radicals,—Right, Left or any other sort, are tolerated. Public forums are available off the campus where the students may go and listen if they are so inclined. We have confidence that most of the students are perfectly capable of analyzing Communist propaganda, but many have obviously been very susceptible.

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